DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 170 631 CG 013 422

AUTHOR Nelson, E. Kim; And Others
TITLE Promising Strategies in Probation and Parole.
INSTITUTION Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (Dept. of Justice/LEAA), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Nov 78
GRANT J-LEAA-76-NI-99-0041
NOTE 138p.
AVAILABLE FROM Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (027-000-00706-6)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Community Programs; *Correctional Rehabilitation; Human Services; Organizational Development; *Parole Officers; Prisoners; *Probation Officers; Program Administration; *Rehabilitation Programs

ABSTRACT

This report is designed to aid probation and parole administrators, planners, program operators, and line staff by highlighting programs and practices throughout the country which appear to have special promise. The scarcity of evaluative data and the limitations inherent in a study of this kind forced heavy reliance on subjective assessments in the selection of programs for inclusion in the report and in the description of those programs. The programs and practices discussed represent a selection which the authors view as especially interesting and worthy of possible emulation elsewhere. The report discusses issues facing community corrections today; identifies promising strategies in the areas of probation intake, diversion or deferred prosecution, parole intake, case classification, residential services, field supervision, and the use of paraprofessionals and volunteers; examines methods used in programs which capitalize on the mobilization and use of community resources; details methods of organizing and delivering services, developing accountability, and measuring performance, with an emphasis on the organizational characteristics of successful agency programs; describes four comprehensive agency programs which seemed of particular interest to both survey respondents and project staff; summarizes the major prescriptive themes developed throughout the report; and comments upon possible futures of community corrections. (Author)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED170631

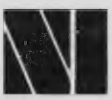
Promising Strategies in Probation and Parole

by
E. Kim Nelson
Howard Ohmart
Nora Harlow

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

November 1978



Office of Development, Testing and Dissemination
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
U. S. Department of Justice

CG 013 422

National Institute of Law Enforcement
and Criminal Justice
Blair G. Ewing, Acting Director

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
James M. H. Gregg, Acting Administrator

This project was supported by Grant Number 76-NI-99-0041, awarded to University Justice Associates, Inc. by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U. S. Department of Justice, under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U. S. Department of Justice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	v
I. INTRODUCTION	1
A. The State of the Art: Current Trends in Probation and Parole	2
B. Informed Criticism	3
C. Views From the Field	7
D. The Authors' Perspective	10
E. Conclusion	13
II. PROMISING PROGRAM STRATEGIES	15
A. Pretrial Services: ROR and Deferred Prosecution	15
B. Probation Intake: Case Diagnosis and Planning	17
C. Classification of Offenders	19
D. Parole Intake Programs	21
E. Residential Support Services	24
F. Paraprofessionals and Volunteers	27
G. Use of Restitution	29
H. Field Supervision: Variations on a Theme	30
I. Summary	33
III. ORGANIZING THE COMMUNITY	35
A. Resource Brokerage and Program Accessibility	35
B. Developing Community Support	36
C. Examples of Effective Community Organization	37
D. Summary	43
IV. COMPONENTS OF SUCCESSFUL ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT	44
A. Leadership	45
B. Structure	48
C. Extrnal Relationships	55
D. Summary	55
V. SOME COMPREHENSIVE CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS	58
A. The Case of Minnesota: A Community Corrections Strategy	59
B. The Case of King County (Washington): Integration of Correctional Services	65
C. The Case of Seattle (Washington): Small But Efficient	68
D. The Case of San Diego County: Consolidation of Correctional Services	71
E. Summary	77
VI. AN OVERVIEW	78
A. Does Community Corrections "Work"?	79
B. Directions for Change	82
C. Looking Ahead	85

Page

APPENDIX A 89

APPENDIX B: A Selected Annotated Bibliography 121

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Page

TABLE 1 Comparative Rates of Recidivism Among Volunteer and Regular Caseloads, Lincoln, Nebraska, Volunteer Probation Counselor Program 29

TABLE 2 Managerial and Executive Roles 45

FIGURE 1 The Virginia Juvenile Justice System 52

FIGURE 2 Monterey County (California) Probation Department, Community Resources Management Team Delivery System 56

FIGURE 3 How the (Minnesota) Community Corrections Act Works 61

FIGURE 4 King County (Washington) Department of Rehabilitative Services Organization Chart 67

FIGURE 5 Seattle (Washington) Municipal Probation Service Organization Chart 69

TABLE 3 Pretrial Detention/Release of San Diego City, 1974 Arrests 72

TABLE 4 Diversion Programs in San Diego City and County, 1974 73

FIGURE 6 Adult Probation Growth in San Diego County, Misdemeanant and Felony 74

PREFACE

The 1970s are a time of transition for community corrections in the United States. Probation and parole are faced with the challenge of responding to dramatic changes both within and outside the field of corrections. New demands are being placed upon them. They are asked both to be more effective and to interfere less in the lives of offenders; to "rehabilitate," but to abandon traditional treatment modes; to take on ever larger caseloads with little or no increase in staff or other resources; and to adapt to a constantly shifting public mandate, the essence of which rarely is satisfactorily defined. Probation and parole must move forward if such challenges are to be met and resolved, yet there are few reliable guidelines to indicate the direction which should be taken.

This *Program Models* is designed to aid probation and parole administrators, planners, program operators, and line staff by highlighting programs and practices throughout the country which appear to have special promise. The report in no sense represents a comprehensive treatment of contemporary community corrections in any of its multiple forms. Nor can it be claimed that the programs identified necessarily represent the best the field has to offer. While numerous site visits were undertaken and voluminous data were reviewed, many good programs undoubtedly were missed. In addition, while the sites visited were carefully scrutinized through interviews and inspection of many documents and reports, no rigorous examinations of quality could be made. The scarcity of evaluative data and the limitations inherent in a study of this kind forced heavy reliance on subjective assessments in the selection of programs for inclusion in this report and in the description of those programs.

Site visits were undertaken in the locations listed below. Since numerous individual programs may have been visited in a single location, the list does not reflect all of the sites subjected to field investigation.

California	San Diego County Probation Department
	Fresno County Probation Department
	San Mateo County Probation Department
Connecticut	Connecticut Department of Corrections, Private/Public Resources Expansion Project (Hartford)
Illinois	Federal Probation Services Department (Chicago)
Maine	Community Justice Project (Augusta)
Maryland	Maryland Division of Parole and Probation, Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services (Hunt Valley)
Massachusetts	Massachusetts Parole Board
	Parole Impact Program (Concord)
Minnesota	Minnesota Department of Corrections (Minneapolis/St. Paul)
South Carolina	South Carolina Department of Corrections, Youthful Offender Division (Columbia)
Texas	Texas Adult Probation Department (Austin)
Washington	Washington State Department of Corrections (Seattle)
Wisconsin	Wisconsin Bureau of Probation and Parole, Department of Health and Social Services (Madison)

Sites were selected from among those identified by two primary search techniques: (1) an extensive survey of the literature, and (2) a letter distributed to state planning agencies, LEAA regional offices, state corrections organizations, state probation and parole agencies, and widely known community corrections projects. A number of authorities in the probation and parole field also were contacted for information on programs they considered worthy of investigation.

The search effort was directed toward the identification of programs in different parts of the United States, including both urban and rural areas, and operating under a variety of administrative arrangements, including those in which probation and parole are combined and those in which they are organizationally separate. In accordance with the stipulation of LEAA, special emphasis was placed on services for adult offenders; programs for juveniles were included if they appeared to be readily adaptable to adult corrections. Respondents were requested particularly for information on agencies which offer a comprehensive and balanced overall program, providing unusually effective services for offenders from intake through final discharge and including a good statistical reporting system and a research and evaluation component. Also of interest were agencies which, while perhaps not impressive in their overall operation, have noteworthy program elements—for example, especially effective offender screening, classification, and differential treatment, especially successful supervision or treatment modes, or unusual approaches to service "brokerage" which link offenders with resources in the community.

Programs identified by survey respondents or other sources were selected for site investigation if they appeared to add to the range and flexibility of techniques for managing and treating offenders in the community or if they seemed to reflect the imaginative use of correctional or community resources. The programs and practices discussed in the chapters of this report thus represent a selection which the authors view as especially interesting and worthy of possible emulation elsewhere.

The report is organized into six chapters. Chapter I establishes the conceptual framework of the volume. Issues facing community corrections today are highlighted and the content of subsequent chapters is placed in perspective. Chapter II identifies promising strategies in the areas of probation intake, diversion or deferred prosecution, parole intake, case classification, residential services, field supervision, and the use of paraprofessionals and volunteers. Chapter III examines methods used in programs which capitalize on the mobilization and use of community resources. Chapter IV details methods of organizing and delivering services, developing accountability, and measuring performance, with an emphasis on the organizational characteristics of successful agency programs. Chapter V describes four comprehensive agency programs which seemed of particular interest to both survey respondents and project staff. The major prescriptive themes developed throughout the report are summarized in Chapter VI, which also comments upon possible futures of community corrections.

The authors are indebted to the many agency staff members on all levels who responded to the survey letter with timely and useful information. Without their assistance, this report could not have been written. Special acknowledgements are due to all field site, agency, and program staff who generously contributed their time, energy, and knowledge toward the completion of this study. The authors wish to thank all of these people individually and collectively for their invaluable assistance.

The authors also wish to express their gratitude to a number of individuals and organizations whose efforts have greatly facilitated their work. Mr. Louis Biondi, who served as LEAA monitor of the project, provided unfailing support and constructive criticism throughout the study. Dr. Robert Carter and Mr. Steven

Duncan played key roles in the conceptualization and development of the project and Mr. Duncan served as its first Administrative Officer. Mr. Dennis Hatch was the Administrative Officer during most of the project and was responsible for compiling the annotated bibliography as well as participating in site visits. Ms. Nora Harlow edited the entire report and drafted the summary of themes which appears as Chapter VI. Ms. Devara Berger and Mr. Michael Carter, who served as research assistants during different phases of the project, brought fresh perspectives to the analysis of data and the preparation of the manuscript.

The American Justice Institute of Sacramento provided indispensable fiscal management services, while the Mariscal Corporation of Los Angeles furnished office space and efficient secretarial and administrative assistance.

The authors are especially indebted to Mr. Ernest Reimer for allowing the reproduction of his incisive summaries of relevant published sources, prepared by him for another purpose, as part of the annotated bibliography.

GOT A MOMENT?

We'd like to know what you think of this Program Models. The last page of this publication is a questionnaire. Will you take a few moments to complete it? The postage is prepaid. Your answers will help us provide you with more useful Program Models.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

A decade ago the report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice was just beginning to exert a profound influence on both public and professional opinion.[1] While many changes and improvements were recommended, in general the report offered great hope for the future of probation and parole. With some two-thirds of the total correctional caseload under the supervision of probation and parole officers, it was argued that the question was not whether to handle offenders in the community but how to do so safely and successfully.[2] An important theme of the Commission report was that probation and parole officers are not the omnipotent therapists evoked by the traditional propaganda and cannot deliver "rehabilitation" through their own efforts. Instead, it was suggested, the community must be the target for change and "reintegration" rather than rehabilitation of offenders should become the modus operandi of the future.

Six years later the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals brought out its report.[3] While more specific in delineating strategies for implementing needed changes, the study largely adopted the premises and agreed with the findings of the earlier Crime Commission. But by this time doubt and skepticism were in the air. As Carter and Wilkins pointed out: "The optimism that characterized the 1967 report is hardly tempered in the 1973 Standards and Goals report. Rehabilitation claims are made quite strongly. . . . These statements may be true, but today there would be less hope of their acceptance without much stronger supporting data."[4]

As the late 1960s progressed to the early 70s, officials did not need academic pundits to call their attention to the growing impatience with corrections. While accustomed to living with a shaky public mandate, the corrections field had long been able to count on its relatively low visibility for protection from outright attack. Although increasingly troubled by street crime, taxpayers had been content to rely on Hollywood images of prisons, probation, and parole. Now, however, new and intrusive forces had appeared on the scene. Militant critics of the American way, fueled by the events of Viet Nam and Watergate, had identified correctional clients as victims of a discriminatory system. Jessica Mitford perhaps best articulated a view that some prison staff had long held privately: Manipulation of the human psyche may be more outrageous than violations of the physical being.[5]

Meanwhile, attacks from the opposing camp also escalated. Corrections was depicted as permissive, uncaring about the victims of crime, blindly advocating a rehabilitative ideal and ignoring the reality of violent, predatory criminals. A placid and covert reciprocity between offenders and officials was no longer possible. Corrections was being badgered by various constituencies calling for numerous mutually contradictory changes. As John Galvin pointed out at a seminar for corrections workers in 1975:

> "It's not a good day for the timid, especially if they are poorly informed. It's not a very good day for the poorly informed who have convictions and courage to match them. They begin to look like Don Quixote—a bit funny, a bit tragic—admirable perhaps, but not to be imitated or followed."[6]

It must be remembered that modern corrections began essentially as a reformist movement—at times almost a crusade—to find alternatives to the brutal and ineffective practices of the past. Probation in America is considered to have begun in 1841 with the simple efforts of John Augustus, a Boston shoemaker, to act as surety for offenders released into his care in lieu of imprisonment. It had its legal basis in the authority of the courts to suspend the imposition or execution of sentence, contingent upon the observance of specified conditions. Parole, on the other hand, originated in the concept of the indeterminate or indefinite sentence, imported from Europe around 1870 as part of an innovation referred to as "ticket of leave."

Many of those in positions of influence in corrections entered this field with a spirit of idealism.

10

Perhaps, like the writers of this report, they read Barnes and Teeters' *New Horizons in Criminology*[7] in the days when returnees from World War II were seeking careers in which they could address long-standing societal imperfections. The tragic history of corporal and capital punishment and the degradation of prison and reformatory immates seemed a problem worthy of their best efforts and the directions suggested by criminologist-reformers appealed to their humanistic instincts. Thus it is understandable if some of those who have fought the good fight in such a cause should respond defensively even to responsible criticism.

Years ago a colleague of one of the writers suggested somewhat ruefully that no field of endeavor could be objective about itself or open to criticism of its norms and practices so long as it was in what he called a crusading period. He had been conducting research on forest fire prevention and had begun to suspect that some fires under some conditions were beneficial if not essential to the healthy development of future forests. This idea, which now enjoys considerable currency, was then unacceptable to a government bureaucracy zealously committed to preventing fires.

Perhaps there is an analogue to corrections in this experience, for that field seems to be emerging from its crusading phase and entering a new era in which productivity must be empirically established and accountability to the public is expected. Those who work in the corrections field do seem to be responsive to the need for improvements in correctional practice. While not necessarily in agreement with their critics, most practitioners today willingly acknowledge the difficulties, frustrations, and disappointments they encounter in their work. In fact, some of the most incisive criticism of probation and parole has come from those who played prominent roles in the development of the present system. Site visits undertaken for this project found probation and parole staff curious to know how various programs were working in other locales and motivated to introduce the kinds of change which might really make sense, if only they could do so with some feeling of confidence.

The major purpose of this report is to assist the field of community corrections by disseminating knowledge about programs and practices which appear to be most effective. Yet it would be naive, and probably a disservice to all involved, to make any prescriptive statements without noting the issues and dilemmas which abound in this area. We are not, after all, dealing with the refinement of some well-developed technology. The human and organizational problems we are addressing are complex, poorly understood, and subject to enormous controversy. Fads and movements have dominated both theory and practice, while the philosophical bases for action have swung from retributive to humanistic extremes.

This first chapter is intended to provide the reader with a brief overview of current trends in probation and parole, major criticisms of existing programs, issues and problems noted by correctional practitioners, and the conceptual and empirical positions from which the authors approach the remainder of the report.

A. The State of the Art: Current Trends in Probation and Parole

There is widespread ferment within the correctional system. Some changes have been induced by court decisions, such as *Morrissey* and *Gagnon*, which elicited significant procedural reform in the parole decision-making process. Some have been the product of LEAA's change-oriented infusion of new money. The list of states which have undergone major organizational and administrative realignments in the past decade is now fairly long.

Yet considering community corrections in its entirety, it is easy to become discouraged about the prospects for genuine institutional reform. The mainstream of probation and parole is not grossly different from what it was a decade ago. Too often, new and innovative efforts are essentially "side shows"—intriguing, exciting, but devoid of major impact upon the overall operation.

Concerning some broad and fairly pervasive trends in probation and parole, we can speak with some confidence. The following observations are generally applicable:

- The rehabilitative ethic is still alive and, if not well, at least active and visible in probation and parole. Particularly with respect to experimental programs and to pre-institutional as opposed to post-institutional operations, there is a strong predilection to be helpful and supportive of the offender population. Assumption of an advocacy role by corrections staff is not uncommon, especially among its more youthful members.
- The classic conflict inherent in the role of the probation or parole officer still exists. The field officer generally is still required to be a combination of policeman and social worker, providing surveillance with one hand and services with the other. Some interesting arrangements for resolving this ambiguity are now being tried.

- The public's fear of rising crime, particularly violent crime, is reflected in an increased emphasis on the control aspects of the field officer's function, especially in parole.
- Prison populations declined during the late 1960s and early 70s to a low point in 1973, only to rise to an all-time high in January, 1976. Adult probation and parole caseloads have climbed rapidly during the past ten years and continue at a high level. Staff increases apparently have not kept pace with the growth in client populations. This has encouraged some reassessment of traditional strategies for assigning and managing caseloads.
- In numerous (though still a minority of) jurisdictions across the country, the probation function is being expanded to include certain pretrial services. This has been primarily in the administration of release on recognizance programs and "diversion" or deferred prosecution strategies. Again, the increased workload has not always been matched by the addition of staff, and thus the impact of these new programs has been limited.
- The non-justice and private sectors of society are increasingly a part of the correctional enterprise. Growing emphasis on probation and parole officers' "brokerage" function (which implies a greater reliance on community services and resources) is apparent in many jurisdictions. Such efforts entail considerable investment of time and effort in promoting and developing necessary resources. There also has been a substantial growth in the use of volunteers in probation and parole, although the practice is by no means universal and the reactions of staff and administrators are varied.
- Use of community-based residential facilities for adults is expanding. Halfway houses and work and educational release centers are widely used for parolees. Although administrative responsibility frequently is lodged with prison or jail administrators, field agency managers appear to be taking on more of this responsibility. Probation agencies are moving slowly toward wider use of such facilities as an alternative to imprisonment.
- There appears to be an increasing use of jail commitment as a condition of probation, sometimes called the "split sentence." Although the practice has been criticized as making more difficult the offender's later reestablishment in the community, where the alternative would be prison commitment it may be a preferable choice.
- The continued viability of the parole function is being challenged in some quarters. Although much criticism appears to be directed more against prison programs and the indeterminate sentence than parole itself, the proposed alternative—the "flat sentence"—would seem to leave little place for conventional parole operations. Probation, on the other hand, seems to be faced with a rather different future. Although some of its methods and operating principles are under attack, it seems likely that the use of probation will continue to expand in the foreseeable future.

These trends in probation and parole, and some of the program developments which characterize them, are discussed in greater detail in Chapter II.

B. Informed Criticism

In the midst of an avalanche of conflicting demands, correction workers also have had the benefit of some sober, fair, and insightful commentary. A mixture of support and criticism, these views deserve serious attention as more than polemics, for they represent the conclusions of those who have thought carefully about the past and present of the field we call corrections and have attempted to put the future in perspective. Some of these critiques have been based on the findings of evaluative research, while others have been derived from observations of the nature of contemporary corrections and speculations about its future role.

1. *The challenge of evaluation: "Nothing works."*. Perhaps no single critique of contemporary corrections has created such a stir as the review of evaluative studies of correctional treatment by Robert Martinson and his associates.[8] For some time this uniquely comprehensive review—covering some 231 studies conducted from 1945 to 1967—was much talked about but unavailable for wide reading. The consternation it generated in correctional circles may have been due in part to the attention which tends to focus on well-known but still unpublished works. Nevertheless, from a review of the results of these studies and a careful assessment of their methodological adequacy, the researchers concluded that very few rehabilitative programs, whether institutional or community-based and regardless of type of treatment, have had any significant impact on recidivism.

The observation that evaluative studies tend to discredit rehabilitative efforts was not new with the

12

Martinson survey. Walter C. Bailey, who reviewed the findings of 100 studies in 1966, arrived at conclusions similar to Martinson's, noting that the more rigorous the research the less likely it would be to show a positive result.[9] And for years some iconoclastic thinkers have suggested that correctional intervention may sometimes make things worse rather than better.

An important contribution of the Martinson review has been to place in perspective the miniscule scale of rehabilitative efforts when compared to the forces which generate crime in the community and over which the treaters have little control. Martinson and his associates also point out that both program operators and researchers have tended to ignore the effects of punishment and deterrence as independent or causative variables. It should be noted that the Martinson survey has received a variety of interpretations and responses. Palmer, for example, has pointed out that the data presented actually indicate positive or partly positive results for some programs or some offenders in 48 percent of the studies summarized.[10] However, whether or not one agrees with these researchers' conclusion that rehabilitation efforts have little or no demonstrable effect, their work should be thoughtfully considered by all concerned with the future of correctional treatment programs.

Interestingly, a recent statistical study of probation arrived at conclusions significantly different from the point of view that "nothing works." A 1976 Report to Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States presented data on a sample of 1,200 former probationers in four counties. This study found that:

> "Overall, the four counties failed to successfully deal with an estimated 55 percent of the former probationers—they fled, had their probation revoked, or were convicted of new crimes."[11]

Instead of concluding that probation is inherently a failure, however, the GAO report argues that these dismal results stem from inadequate treatment services, a lack of dependable information to guide judges in deciding who should be placed on probation, and especially the problem of caseloads which are so high that probation officers are unable to perform their supervisory duties effectively. Statistical tests conducted by the researchers support their conclusion that more adequate rehabilitative services would in fact reduce recidivism. This study illustrates the fact that questions relating to the effectiveness of community treatment still have not been definitively answered.

While the importance of existing evaluative data cannot be denied, caution is advisable in drawing conclusions from them. Any effort to piece together the results of different studies conducted in different times and places will confront enormous difficulties. Also, research itself is a "movement" with its own normative thrusts and these sometimes are antithetical to action programs. In the 1960s we may have been too quick to accept uncritically the apparent success of community correctional programs. Now, with the swing of the pendulum and the shift in the national mood to one of skepticism about rehabilitation, we stand in danger of reaching opposite but equally simplistic answers to the same complex questions.

A major weakness in correctional research may be found in the questions which have been asked. In an excellent article entitled "Achieving Better Questions," Daniel Glaser states that "the primary contribution of past research to correctional progress is not in its answers to the questions that were investigated, but in its guidance to more fruitful questions."[12] Glaser believes that we can progress through a series of incremental leaps, elicited by new perspectives on old problems. He suggests that the illumination of "why"-type questions—or hypothesized explanations for program success or failure—should come from the social and behavioral sciences, as engineering depends on physics and agriculture on chemistry. Unfortunately, the lines of communication between corrections and the social sciences have not often been open and their relationship frequently has been characterized by reciprocal negative stereotyping.[13]

Correctional research in the past has moved in a zig-zag and sometimes circular progression rather than a reasonably coherent line of development. Needed now is a summative approach which supplies continuity both in refining program methods and asking better research questions about them.

2. *Conceptual perspectives: New ways of looking at corrections.* In recent years a number of thoughtful critiques have appeared, more often focused on incarceration but still highly relevant to community corrections. We can refer only briefly here to a few of these works and offer some comment on their relationship to subsequent chapters of this report. For this purpose we have selected the writings of James Q. Wilson,[14] Norval Morris,[15] and David Fogel,[16] with some reference to the seminal ideas of Leslie T. Wilkins[17] and Elliot Studt.[18]

Wilson's book, *Thinking About Crime*, is not concerned primarily with corrections or with the workings of the criminal justice system. His concern is much broader and he gets at it by raising the question of how we think or should think about crime. The book is irreverent of the conventional role of social scientists as "experts" on better ways of dealing with crime. Professor Wilson has the good humor to poke fun at himself as well as other "authorities" called up in the 1960's to meet the growing demand for expert opinion and prescription. He makes many telling points and, most significantly here, offers a probing analysis of the deficiencies of existing theories about the nature of man (and the reasons for his criminality) as bases for the design of public policies. Wilson believes that ideas about what we would like to happen, as in the rehabilitation model of corrections, have not been separated carefully from evidence of what in fact can happen. He asks that we face up to unflattering realities about the propensity of man to be destructive and predatory and, not surprisingly, he believes that we have neglected the use of deterrence.

> "Wicked people exist. Nothing avails except to set them apart from innocent people. And many people, neither wicked nor innocent, but watchful, dissembling and calculating of their opportunities, ponder our reaction to wickedness as a cue to what they might profitably do. We have trifled with the wicked, made sport of the innocent, and encouraged the calculators. Justice suffers, and so do we all."[19]

While Wilson seems at times to be carried away with his own arguments, one must applaud his obviously authentic call for the abandonment of foolish beliefs, of cant and sloganizing as a substitute for responsible policy formulation, and of utopian attitudes which impede pragmatic improvements of the justice system. These observations are timely and articulate. Unfortunately, the translation of such rhetorical concerns into policy in the probation and parole field is filled with great difficulty. Wilson's own effort in this direction, based on the popular view that rehabilitation does not work, seems a bit cavalier:

> "Now suppose we abandon entirely the rehabilitation theory of sentencing and corrections—not the effort to rehabilitate, just the theory that the governing purpose of the enterprise is to rehabilitate. We could continue experiments with new correctional and therapeutic procedures, expanding them when the evidence warrants. If existing correctional programs do not differ in their rehabilitative potential, we could support those that are least costly and most humane (while still providing reasonable security) and phase out those that are most costly and inhumane."[20]

Even if we do move in the direction advocated by Wilson—and something of the kind does seem to be happening—the deterrence (or "justice" or "punishment") model may be almost as difficult to operationalize as the rehabilitation model, at least in community corrections. For one thing, some of those who commit destructive and illegal acts are not so much wicked or calculating as they are chronically drunken, befuddled, or episodically angry enough to resort to violence. The obvious answer is to ignore motivations in all but extreme cases (e.g., the truly psychotic or the very young) and let the punishment fit the crime. This may make sense with respect to length of incarceration; but community supervision which does not consider individual problems, needs, or conditions seems self-defeating, as foolish and unrealistic as any part of the rehabilitation dogma.

It is, however, important to acknowledge that in some cases no treatment at all may better serve the interests of society than any treatment, however carefully devised or routinely applied. Many offenders, apparently, can find their way back into legitimate ways of life more effectively on their own than through the bureaucratic interventions of probation and parole. As Leslie Wilkins has observed, "crime cannot be simplified into either badness or madness . . . the problem of crime is the problem of human behavior."[21] His conclusion, while not unassailable, is noteworthy:

> "It is not unreasonable to say that research findings tend to show that the less it is found necessary to interfere with the personal autonomy of the offender, the better are his chances of going straight in the future."[22]

It is likely that some probationers and parolees should be "let alone" while others should be supervised, helped, and controlled in ways sensibly related to their individual requirements. The problem lies in knowing how to sort people into appropriate categories. While much more needs to be known about the classification of offenders, quite a bit already is known, especially by those who operate or work in correctional programs. Some promising techniques

for screening and differentiating offenders are described in Chapter II.

We turn next to the perspectives of Norval Morris, currently Dean of the University of Chicago School of Law, and long active in criminological research and writing.[23] Morris' book, *The Future of Imprisonment*, undertakes the difficult task of defining the proper role of the prison in modern society. While he focuses primarily on imprisonment, some of his conclusions relate directly to probation and parole.

The central concern of the book is with substitution of the inherently flawed model of imprisonment with a new model, retaining what is necessary and sound, replacing what is anachronistic and unworkable. Much of what needs replacement, according to Morris, is our conception of rehabilitation as a clinical process. Dissociating himself from those who reject the idea of individualized treatment entirely, Morris wryly observes that such persons frequently seek out assistance within that framework when they encounter personal difficulties in their own lives. Like Wilson, Morris reasons toward his conclusions from his beliefs about the nature of man:

> "The rejection of that model of treatment as a part of crime control flows not from lack of power or competence to influence the criminal's behavior but from historical evidence about the misuse of power and from more fundamental views of the nature of man and his rights to freedom. These properly limit the power that we wish to accord the state over the individual."[24]

Recognizing that the purpose of incarceration is not treatment, Morris wishes to "liberate" the individualized treatment model in the prison. In this respect he joins those who object to labeling punishment treatment and decry the consequences of mixing these contradictory purposes rhetorically and operationally. Calling for the replacement of coerced cure by facilitated change, Morris recommends "the substitution of graduated testing of fitness for freedom for parole predictions of suitability for release."

Perhaps the most significant implication of Morris' ideas for community treatment is that coerced rehabilitation can work in the community no better than in the prison. Extending his logic to community corrections, it might be argued that authentic, freely negotiated "contracts" between officials and offenders are the only viable basis for the helping aspects of probation and parole programs. The idea of voluntary participation in treatment, however, is very difficult to achieve. As Morris points out, agreements for release on parole conditional on performance of stipulated activities are subject to more than "a hint of duress," and may constitute an offer which the negotiating party can hardly afford to refuse. The same dynamics, of course, may operate while the offender is on probation or parole.

Another example of informed criticism of probation and parole is found in a provocative book by David Fogel, *We Are The Living Proof*, which proffers a "justice model" for corrections.[26] This highly readable book draws upon historical data and various theoretical perspectives, while introducting the author's own views derived from his experience as a correctional administrator. The major thesis is stated in the preface and elaborated throughout the succeeding chapters:

> "My charge was to develop an elaboration of what I have called the "justice model" of prison administration. It rests on the notion that justice—as fairness— is the pursuit we should be involved with in prison rather than the several treatment models to which we have given lip service in the past. My thesis is that the best way to teach non-law-abiders to be law-abiding is to treat them lawfully. My concern is less with the administration of justice and more (as Edmond Cahn suggested) with the justice of administration."[27]

Fogel only briefly discusses community treatment, but his arguments for justice and fairness and against the rehabilitation model have great relevance for probation and parole. Several of his perspectives deserve special emphasis here. Fogel speaks often of the need to be sensitive to the "consumer's" experience in the machinery of justice and to the "micro" world within which staff and offenders daily interact. He also argues for what he identifies as a public administration concern: the corruptive process engendered within a bureaucracy in which there is low visibility and high discretion. He argues, with Morris, against involuntary rehabilitation. He suggests that justice in place of the spurious therapy of the old model tends toward normalcy in human contacts and reinforces the offender's sense of competence and self-worth. In this he evokes the "justice as therapy" notion advanced some time ago by Philip Selznick.[28] He recommends flat rather than indeterminate sentences and seems at times to suggest the abolition of parole, although it is not clear that he is against voluntary community programs for the released inmate.

There is much food for thought in Fogel's writing for those concerned with the future of probation and

parole. As Lloyd Ohlin says in the foreword to the book, Fogel's thoughts do not constitute a utopian formulation for reform, but rather "invite debate and creative contributions at many different points. . . ."[29] Like Morris, Fogel is attempting to "rehabilitate" the corrections system. He correctly identifies much that is wrong and dysfunctional about the current situation and argues convincingly that reform will enhance the impact of that system on both the offenders caught up in it and the staff who work with them.

Unfortunately, there have been few empirical studies of the actual process of probation and parole. Researchers have tended to regard it as a "black box" and to study only variations in judicial disposition at the front of the box and recidivism at the back. But what goes on inside? An important study which has received much less attention than it deserves is the research on parole carried out by Elliot Studt between 1964 and 1968.[30] This work focused on what the investigator referred to as the "private world" of parolees and parole officers, as distinguished from the social construction of reality reflected in legal and organizational rules, conditions, procedures, and relationships.

Studt's data suggest that probation and parole programs assign tasks to both offenders and officers which may make reintegration more rather than less difficult. Noting that offenders tend to be treated as nonpersons, Studt observed the ways in which they coped with their "spoiled identities"[31] and tried to "make parole." Her descriptions of the dilemmas facing both officer and parolee, the often ingenious strategies each devised for coping with bureaucratic dysfunctions, and the collusive relationships sometimes developed between skillful officers and parolees, make fascinating reading. The data seem to suggest not that probation and parole should be abolished, but that they should be used discriminatingly, differentially, and in ways designed to facilitate rather than impede reintegration. Studt makes clear the need for community involvement in the task of reintegration:

> "It is too seldom recognized that reintegration is a two-way relationship requiring open doors and support from the community as well as responsible performance by the parolee. No one can reintegrate *in vacuo*."[32]

Given the perspectives of these authors, one could look at community corrections in various ways. It could be argued, for example, that in the justice model punishment is satisfied through confinement and that community programs should seek only to facilitate reintegration. This, however, does not seem very realistic. The public mandate under which probation and parole operate includes—indeed stresses—the idea of control and public protection and countless aspects of the officer-client relationship reflect that preoccupation. The need for fairness and due process can hardly be escaped in any analysis of modern community corrections. But fairness is not enough, so far as probation and parole are concerned. It may well be the proper singular mode for dealing with a large proportion of probationers and parolees. But there probably are many others who also need varied opportunities, resources, and assistance. Thus we are returned to the problem of combining the concerns of equity and justice with the facilitative and helping dimensions of reintegration. The prescriptive programs described in later chapters represent what seem to be promising steps toward resolution of this dilemma.

C. Views From the Field

As a part of the inquiry underlying this report, a letter was sent to some 260 individuals asking for information about especially promising programs in probation and parole. A concluding paragraph of that letter also requested respondents to list the issues and problems they believed to be most important to the field today:

> "Finally, we would appreciate any views you might wish to give us concerning the major issues which confront the field of probation and parole today. We hope that our report will be a fair and balanced statement of the state of the art in this area, highlighting promising trends and successful techniques. But we are well aware that challenging questions are being raised concerning the efficacy of probation and parole programs, and we would like to address these questions as directly and objectively as possible. *What do you consider to be the most important and pressing issues which our report should examine?*"

The response to this plea was not overwhelming. People busy with the tasks generated by their systems may have been dismayed upon receiving such an open-ended request. It is like being asked to list the objectives of one's organization, the kind of "easy" question that turns out to be nearly impossible to answer. Still, the results were most interesting. The issues mentioned by respondents seemed to be

of three major types: operational, organizational, and philosophical. It should be noted that for some respondents the term "issue" suggested "answer." They replied with an argument of what ought to be rather than a statement of a problem or an issue.

1. *Operational issues.* Most of the issues in this area presumed the viability of probation and parole and posed "how to make it work" problems. Excerpts of some of these responses follow:

> "The most difficult problem is that of identifying the needs of the probationers and parolees. . . .
>
> The most pressing need is for adequate personnel with realistic caseloads. . . .
>
> The restricted use of probation we are experiencing because of the 'get tough' attitude. . . .
>
> Determining the real impact of differential decisions and programs. . . .
>
> The lack of special mental health services for parolees . . .
>
> Classification of parolees . . .
>
> The 'get tough' approach toward the offender. . . . While the treatment approach is now under attack, we believe that it does work. . . .
>
> The issues of classification of inmates and paroled offenders . . .
>
> The major issues which confront the field of probation and parole today are interrelated and include the courts. Caseloads carried by our assigned officers are substantially greater than that which is considered maximum by national standards . . . the very high numbers of supervisory cases has a diluting effect on the quality of investigations conducted for the courts. . . .
>
> The role of the probation and/or parole officer: Should he be an officer with traditional quasi-law enforcement powers and responsibilities, a counselor or type of case worker, a 'broker or services,' or a combination of any or all of these? . . .
>
> Issues to be examined include the areas of training, minimum qualifications, salaries, caseloads and various services provided by different agencies . . . it would be interesting to survey probation and parole agents as to what they perceive their role and function to be. . . .
>
> . . . a serious problem for offenders . . . is being prepared for and placed in appropriate employment with meaningful follow-up and guidance to assure continued employment . . .
>
> The role of staff: If the basic function is surveillance rather than rehabilitation, the role of the officers will need changing. . . .
>
> Indeterminate vs. determinate sentences . . .
>
> Establishing predictive criteria for releasing inmates . . .
>
> Desirable officer/case ratio for standard cases and specialized cases . . .
>
> Specialization: Is it effective? . . .
>
> Employment problems of probationers and parolees . . .
>
> Are there programs to substantiate that cases coming into probation offices, as opposed to officers contacting them, are less or more prone to recidivism? . . .
>
> Roles of counselor . . .
>
> Availability of community resources . . .
>
> Increasing caseloads . . .
>
> Need for efficient and accurate method of classification of offenders . . .
>
> Need for more consistent parole selection criteria . . .
>
> An emphasis on intensity, individualization, and intelligence in working with probationers . . .
>
> Is caseload size significant? . . .
>
> An adult in our society will not be able to maintain new attitudes without a secure economic base, namely training for, and the finding of, a regular job. . . .
>
> What are the basic skills that a probation/or parole officer must utilize to be effective? . . .
>
> The general lack of any significant supervision for clients who need it . . .
>
> Enhanced skills in the diagnosis and matching of individuals to the corrective program which will maximize their potential for rehabilitation."

Certain themes and recurrent perplexing questions dominate these operational issues. What is the proper role of the supervising officer? How can the population of offenders best be divided for purposes of supervision? How can community resources (especially jobs) be obtained for offenders? These

difficult questions are addressed in Chapters II and III of this report.

2. *Organizational issues.* Some of the issues or questions posed by respondents were directed more to the organization and management of probation and parole than to the operational content of those services. For example:

> "Broadening the concept of parole to cover all community-related services, including community residential services, furloughs, work release, etc. . . .
>
> Translation of workload into budgetary justifications . . .
>
> Innovative approaches to record-keeping, especially those which facilitate statistical summarization . . .
>
> Feasibility of offender/staff goal-setting and the use of individual supervision plans . . .
>
> A good, well-staffed intake service can divert many youngsters away from the system. . . . The issue being raised is who should administer intake? . . .
>
> Another issue is whether or not probation services should be under the judicial or executive branch of government . . .
>
> The use of discretionary authority within the probation and parole program. Because of 'unfettered use of discretionary authority' it is important that organizations within corrections develop standards as guides for decision-making. . . .
>
> The administrative placement of parole and probation services. Should the program be under the administration of the courts or the executive branch of the government, locally or on a statewide basis? . . .
>
> What kind of subsidy system should be established and how operated in order to get the most for the money? . . .
>
> Could a private industry system of treatment of probationers be more effective than either a state or local community system that exists now? . . .
>
> What kind of 'professionalism' should a probation officer have—a doctoral degree or the same as a lay person on the street?"

Once again, there is a convergence of concerns around a few major themes. What are the best organizational auspices for probation and parole programs? What are the best ways to finance program activities and to build and justify adequate budgets? How can community corrections organize itself in such a way as to "leverage" needed resources from the community? Chapter IV of this report seeks to address such questions of organization and management.

3. *Philosophical issues.* Finally, the examples given below seem more philosophical than operational or organizational. These issues reflect the sensitivity of probation and parole workers to the critical perspectives summarized earlier.

> "Should probation and parole services in the United States be abolished? In the event (they) are abolished what should replace them? . . .
>
> Does probation or parole make a difference? . . .
>
> Evidence and means of demonstrating effectiveness (or lack of effectiveness) of parole . . .
>
> Diversion also presents several ethical and legal questions such as the protection of due process rights . . . and the issue of double jeopardy should the defendant fail in the diversion program . . .
>
> The relationship of the traditional concept of parole to the recent emphasis on community corrections . . .
>
> The primary need rests with an assessment of the roles of probation and parole. We must make a decision as to whether it is practical for a probation officer to be both an enforcement officer and a counselor. To continue to serve both functions only frustrates the interest and effectiveness of the officer. . . .
>
> The most pressing issue is the effectiveness of parole supervision. . . .
>
> The basic function of a probation and/or parole system . . .
>
> Survival of parole and probation threatened by client overpopulation, also legislatures, governors, and news media challenge parole and probation . . .
>
> Looking at community supervision not only in terms of its treatment possibilities, but also in terms of control and punishment functions . . .
>
> More humane treatment . . .
>
> Inconsistencies in the expectations of the general public . . .

> It must be shown that probation does effectively cause turn-around for people who penetrate the criminal justice system."

It is clear that those in the field are concerned not only about the organization and operation of their programs, but with regard to the underlying purposes and the ultimate effectiveness of their work. They continue to ask what role they should play, or what mix of roles, in society's efforts to deal with crime. With such fundamental questions still unanswered, writing a prescriptive statement on probation and parole seems somewhat presumptuous. Having identified the questions, the authors feel obliged to make their own perspectives as clear as possible before seeking to describe the "best" or "most promising" approaches.

D. The Authors' Perspective

As is perhaps evident from the preceding pages, there is much in the criticisms of American corrections with which the authors agree. The effort to combine punishment with treatment has led to a confused and self-defeating set of arrangements in which neither goal can be accomplished. The evolution of rehabilitation within the clinical or therapeutic model has led to major investments in forms of "treatment" which have been largely futile. The element of coercion in the imposition of such programs on offenders has added to their negative effect. The field of corrections has been hoisted on its own propaganda by promising more than it can deliver, failing to recognize that most of the forces which generate and maintain criminal behavior are beyond the reach of correctional staff. Equity and fairness in decision-making about offenders have been badly neglected, partly through the paternalistic rationalization that treatment actually is taking place, partly because of the bureaucratic nature of the process and its relative invisibility to outsiders. There has been a reluctance to recognize that punishment may be necessary for deterrence and public protection in an imperfect world. For many law-violators the most effective policy appears to be one of imposing a punitive sanction related to the severity of the offense and scrupulously avoiding any other intervention in the life of the individual except to protect him from inhumane and capricious handling.

It is apparent, however, that even the most emphatic critics of contemporary corrections have not provided a coherent alternative to the status quo. True, there are suggestive ideas. But Fogel's "justice model" is much more impressive for what it condemns than for what it advocates and Wilson's attack on the utopianism of the past is far more convincing than his recommendation that wickedness be punished and innocence protected. No doubt we already have the inklings of a better public policy on crime, but what are its specific ingredients? What are the elements of a new and improved model for probation and parole—or whatever other names we may select for those functions?

Ideally, we would offer a conceptually complete answer to that question and then proceed to illustrate it in the following chapters. Unfortunately, we do not feel competent to do so. Community corrections is in a state of flux. Its basic premises and objectives are the subject of debate and controversy. There is little reliable evidence to indicate the "best" ways of handling offenders in the community or within institutions and many of the important questions of policy and procedure are still unanswered.

Probation and parole today are institutions in transition. Yet a time of transition is also a time of opportunity for a significant move ahead. There are people throughout the country, some located in improbable but strategic situations, who sense and understand this opportunity. Needed now is a dual perspective, a "mixed scanning"[33] approach involving attention both to day-to-day problem-solving and to a much more distant horizon of higher-order policy choices, the latter subject to change as new information becomes available.

Movement in the corrections field has been incremental, largely ignoring long-range goals. As Amitai Etzioni has observed with respect to organizational problem-solving in general, this approach tends to be unproductive:

> "[I]ncrementalism . . . focuses on the short run and seeks no more than limited variations from past policies. While an accumulation of small steps could lead to a significant change, there is nothing in this approach to guide the accumulation; the steps may be circular—leading back to where they started, or dispersed—leading in many directions at once but leading nowhere."[34]

The challenge, we believe is to bring about incremental changes in the context of some long-range vision of where we should be going. For this purpose we need to identify a number of desirable and feasible long-range goals for community corrections. The following are some specific policy objectives toward which community corrections might profitably orient itself. These objectives, tentatively offered

here, are those which guided the selection of program models described in later chapters.

1. *Leveraging community resources.* Undoubtedly, notions such as "reintegration of offenders," "mobilization of the community," and "diversion from the justice system" have suffered from their abstractness and also have represented somewhat pretentious ideals. Saying it is one thing, doing it quite another. But the data collected for this report made it clear that some very imaginative and yet practical "doing" is now going on. Organizing the scarce correctional resources around such functions as brokerage and advocacy while catalyzing the enormous latent resources of other systems clearly is feasible, however difficult, as the material presented in Chapter III should indicate.

Mobilization strategies appear to be particularly effective when they are directed toward the private sector. A portion of the corrections budget strategically allocated to such purposes may supply pump-priming for much larger allocations from private enterprise. Use of non-correctional services also allows re-entry under auspices which reduce stigma and help to build and maintain normal roles and relationships. Such a policy objective requires a relinquishment of much direct service by probation and parole agencies, the skillful negotiation of contracts for service with varied non-correctional entities, and the initiation of public education programs which make clear the need for the community at large to participate in offender reintegration.

2. *Separating punishment from help.* The direction of change in institutional corrections clearly is toward "flat" sentences, the acknowledgement that confinement is punishment, and equitable uniformity in sentencing and release policies. But what about probation and parole? Should they be regarded strictly as punitive surveillance, with terms graduated according to such legal criteria as seriousness of the offense and dangerousness of the offender? Alternatively, should they be regarded strictly as help, the facilitation of re-entry into the legitimate world? Or, must we struggle with some combination of the two functions and with the familiar dilemmas which arise when we seek to reconcile one with the other? On these questions, more than any others, there are few solid answers.

However, site visits conducted for this project did shed some light on this issue and offered some building blocks for designing and implementing more realistic policies. Some programs observed were explicit in stating that probation and parole are "frames for life" which demand accountability on the part of the offender: Where restitution is an element, for example, it should be insistently required and monitored. There was an equally strong disposition to make the requirements imposed as simple and as close as possible to those demanded of other citizens and, where special conditions are imposed, to relate them clearly to the offense history. The tendency is to substitute reasonable contracts with probationers and parolees for complicated rites of passage.

What about the work style of the supervising officer? Should he seek, like the good parent, to integrate the functions of setting limits and providing assistance? Or should these tasks somehow be differentiated and separated? There are valid arguments for and examples of both patterns. Many factors are involved. A large agency can more easily differentiate officer roles than a small one. In some departments officers who are good at limit-setting are matched with offenders who are persistent manipulators of authority. Others allow the officer to emphasize his facilitative role while bringing his supervisor into the picture when a punitive sanction is essential. A more drastic alternative is to arrange for law enforcement officers to implement negative sanctions, such as serving warrants or checking on non-compliance with conditions or probation and parole.

While it seems advisable to separate the sanctioning, authority-imposing aspects of probation and parole as much as possible from the helping function, the best ways to accomplish this may differ from one situation to another. Supervising officers must be relieved of the burden of colluding with offenders in order to reconcile unrealistic and contradictory policy mandates and the private and public worlds of probation and parole (to use Studt's language) should be brought into some sensible coincidence with each other.

3. *Differentiation in offender management.* The length of the probation or parole term, and the conditions attached to it, represent the punishment-deterrence axis of community corrections and these probably should be established with the same regard for fairness and uniformity as is recommended for penal sentences. But efforts to facilitate reintegration, or the decision to refrain from such efforts, cannot be contrived within such a framework. They must take into account the interests, needs, and capabilities of the individual offender and ideally should be drawn from a wide array of services and resources available to the agency.

The goal of differential intervention depends for its

successful implementation upon the capacity to classify the disparate population of offenders into different types. A clinical model of offender classification is not necessary, although the selective use of sophisticated diagnostic techniques is an obvious asset. What is needed is the "common sense" recognition that people become entangled in the justice system for an almost infinite variety of reasons. The task is to identify patterns of problems which lend themselves to patterns of solutions and to develop the acuity and flexibility to relate one to the other. Some examples of programs which seem to satisfy these requirements are offered in Chapter II.

4. *Voluntary participation of offenders.* Coerced help is, if anything, more noxious in the community than in the institution. And, as almost everyone knows from personal experience, bureaucratic coercion occurs in subtle, virtually invisible ways, especially when there are wide discrepancies in power between formal actors in organizational relationships. Probationers and parolees are relatively powerless within official interactions, yet they hold absolute veto power in their ability to subvert the desires of treaters. As Harold Leavitt observed in discussing the relationship between would-be changers of human behavior and those whom they wish to change, "the changee is in the saddle."[35]

An important policy orientation, therefore, is to make the helping aspect of community corrections both voluntary and highly participative on the part of the offender. This concept was found to be well recognized in some of our site visits. It seemed, in fact, a liberating idea for both staff and clients, freeing the former from the unpleasantly ritualistic task of imposing unwanted treatment programs and recognizing for the latter a zone of individual autonomy which seemed to enhance their chances of success.

5. *Restitution and victim involvement.* The use of restitution can hardly be called an innovation since it pre-dates both incarceration and modern forms of community treatment. In fact, restitution was central to the "justice system" of many primitive societies.[36] Until recently, however, the enforcement of restitution orders has been a burdensome chore for probation and parole agencies and it has not been accomplished efficiently. A current trend is toward the more purposeful and imaginative use of restitution—at times involving the victim and the offender in the development of restitution agreements. While there are obvious limits to this practice (many victims want only to maintain distance from criminals), it does present opportunities for solving problems in human rather than bureaucratic ways.

The role being played by some probation and parole agencies in making restitution and victim involvement more effective is described in Chapter II. One dimension of this role is simply the efficient, business-like monitoring and enforcement of fiscal restitution orders. At the other extreme are efforts to develop "psychological contracts" between offenders and their victims which leave both with a sense that something approximating justice has been accomplished. In a middle ground lies what has been called symbolic restitution, in which some form of public service (if possible, related to the offense) is substituted for either incarceration or monetary reimbursement. In all of these situations probation and parole staff act in idea-generating, mediating, and monitoring capacities. Further exploration of this area seems to offer one of the few genuine alternatives to the limited repertoire of correctional dispositions.

6. *Maximizing normalcy.* Implicit in much that has been said in this chapter is the notion that community corrections should establish a life context for probationers and parolees as close as possible to that which is "normal" in society. While it might be said that criminal behavior is normal in many of the life situations encountered by clients of community corrections, here we are referring to such homely norms as holding a legitimate job, living within and contributing to a supportive family and friendship structure, feeling competent to draw upon the resources of the community, exercising self-reliance and choice in life decisions, and being accountable for those choices.

The work style of corrections agencies can do much to either enhance or vitiate normalcy in the lives of their clients—for example, in the expectations communicated to the offender, the kinds of support provided at critical times, and the efforts made to connect the individual with the help he needs to function as a law-abiding member of the community. Some specific techniques which encourage independence and self-esteem while requiring responsible, law-abiding behavior are described in Chapter III.

7. *Organizational coherence and productivity.* Many of the problems facing community corrections stem less from what is done than the way in which it is done. The field is vast, sprawling, and fragmented. It exists at all levels of government. The parts are not well linked in order to provide for sharing of resources and efficient distribution of the total work-

load. And available data suggest that the workload is growing rapidly. The first meeting of the newly formed American Probation and Parole Association, held in Denver in August, 1976, was entitled, "Probation and Parole: Can They Survive the 'Body Crunch' of the 70s?"

Beyond the way in which community corrections is structured, there is an equally important question of management style and skill. During one site visit, it was suggested to us that "good people can make a bad system run well, and bad people can ruin a good system in no time." While this may be an oversimplification, the point is well taken. It refers to what John Pfiffner called "the alchemy of personality"—those elusive qualities of administrative behavior which may match the needs of one situation without being transferable to another.[37]

Lying somewhere between the "macro" questions of organizational structure and the "micro" questions of leadership style are issues having to do with personnel administration (recruiting, retaining, and developing staff) and fiscal administration (securing the resources necessary for programs and using them effectively). The information collected in these areas is reported in Chapter IV.

E. Conclusion

Those who work in community corrections often feel discouraged, unappreciated, and misunderstood. This is hardly surprising for it appears that they generally are unappreciated and misunderstood, although part of the fault lies in their own communications with other agencies and with the public. In this predicament they are not alone. Over the past several decades there has been a shift from relatively closed systems in relatively placid environments to highly open systems in extremely turbulent environments. There is a mood of disenchantment with the public services generally in this country. Productivity and accountability are being demanded throughout the governmental bureaucracy, and especially in the human services. The frustrations and pressures experienced by correction workers are mirrored in social welfare, public health, employment development, and education.

Changes are occurring faster than we can comprehend them—changes in the way people live and act, in the forms of their misbehavior, in the laws and norms which define what is deviant and illegal. It is fascinating to note how quickly some previously unacceptable behaviors have become widely tolerated. Those who try to envision the future are telling us: "Pay attention, the old rules and ways won't work anymore!" The entire context is changing. We are moving into a post-industrial society, with new technologies which impact the lives of everyone. In a time of trans-national banks and multi-national corporations, our solutions to problems must go beyond what seemed adequate in a less complex world.

In this new context, those who would serve as agents of change in corrections must be more than managers and technicians in the usual sense of these terms. They must be cosmopolitan, outward-looking, politically and socially aware. They must cultivate the skills of negotiating with other systems and power centers around them. They must begin to supply what Philip Selznick has called "institutional leadership."[38] An organization becomes an "institution" when it is infused with values and when the environment in which it operates grants legitimacy to those values. Provided with the requisite leadership, resources, and structure, it can then develop relationships with the world around it which permit it to operate with integrity—strategically, but in accordance with its values.

This brings us to the final question of what is "good," what does effectiveness mean in community corrections? For too long success has been measured solely in terms of outcome data, primarily statistics on recidivism. It would be absurd to argue that such information is irrelevant to the question of effectiveness. But it seems equally absurd to continue to render solemn judgment on that point alone, implying that corrections can put an end to what has always characterized human beings—the tendency, for a multitude of reasons, to break the rules. Our central concern is that corrections, especially probation and parole, develop the strength, credibility, and integrity to meet Selznick's test of organizational success: a commitment to comprehensible values and the acknowledgement by critical outsiders that these are legitimate and worthy of support. This conception of quality and effectiveness has heavily influenced the selection of material for this report.

REFERENCES AND NOTES—CHAPTER I

1. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *The Challenge of Crime in A Free Society*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

2. *Id.*, p. 165.
3. National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, *Corrections*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.
4. Robert M. Carter and Leslie T. Wilkins (eds.), *Probation, Parole and Community Corrections*, New York, Wiley 1976, pp. 77–78.
5. Jessica Mitford, *Kind and Usual Punishment: The Prison Business*, New York, Knopf, 1973.
6. John J. Galvin, Paper presented to Southwestern Regional Seminar on Planning and Implementation in Corrections, Norman, Oklahoma, September 21, 1975.
7. Harry E. Barnes and Negley T. Teeters, *New Horizons in Criminology* (2nd ed.), New York, Prentice-Hall, 1951.
8. Douglas Lipton, Robert Martinson, and Judith Wilks, *The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment: A Survey of Treatment Evaluation Studies*, New York, Praeger, 1975. See also: Robert Martinson, "What Works—Questions and Answers About Prison Reform," *The Public Interest*, Spring, 1974.
9. Walter C. Bailey, "Correctional Outcome: An Evaluation of 100 Reports," In: Leon Radzinowitz and Marvin E. Wolfgang (eds.), *Crime and Justice*, New York, Basic Books, 1971, Vol. 3, p. 90. See also: R.G. Hood, "Research on the Effectiveness of Punishments and Treatments," In: Radzinowitz and Wolfgang, *Id.*, Vol. 3, p. 159.
10. Ted Palmer, "Martinson Revisited," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, July 1975, pp. 133–52.
11. U.S. Comptroller General, *State and County Probation: Systems in Crisis*, Washington, D.C., General Accounting Office, May 29, 1976.
12. Daniel Glaser, "Achieving Better Questions: A Half Century's Progress in Correctional Research," *Federal Probation*, Vol. 39 (Sept.), 1975, p. 3.
13. E.K. Nelson, Jr., and Fred Richardson, "Perennial Problems in Criminological Research," *Crime and Delinquency*, Vol. 17 (Jan.), 1971.
14. James Q. Wilson, *Thinking About Crime*, New York, Basic Books, 1975.
15. Norval Morris, *The Future of Imprisonment*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1974.
16. David Fogel, *We Are the Living Proof*, Cincinnati, W.H. Anderson, 1975.
17. Leslie T. Wilkins, "Directions for Corrections, In: Carter and Wilkins, *op. cit. supra* note 4, pp. 56–76.
18. Elliot Studt, *Surveillance and Service in Parole*, Los Angeles, University of California Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 1972.
19. *Op. cit. supra* note 14, p. 209.
20. *Id.*, p. 172.
21. *Op. cit. supra* note 17, p. 64.
22. *Id.*, p. 63.
23. *Op. cit. supra* note 15.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Op. cit. supra* note 16.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Id.*, p. 189.
29. Lloyd Ohlin, "Foreword," In: Fogel, *op. cit. supra* note 16.
30. *Op. cit. supra* note 18.
31. Irving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Special Identity*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1963.
32. *Op. cit. supra* note 18.
33. Amitai Etzioni, "Mixed Scanning: A 'Third' Approach to Decision-Making," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 27, 1967, p. 387.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Harold J. Leavitt, *Managerial Psychology* (2nd ed.), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964, p. 156.
36. Henry S. Maine, *Ancient Law* (3rd ed.), New York, Holt, 1965.
37. John Pfiffner was a prolific author at the University of Southern California for many years prior to his death in 1969.
38. Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation*, New York, Harper and Row, 1957.

CHAPTER II. PROMISING PROGRAM STRATEGIES

This chapter identifies a number of promising strategies for probation and parole, covering suggested programs, policies, and, to some extent, approaches to administrative organization for the principal functional areas of what is generally described as community corrections. In the contemporary context of increasing workloads, a more punitive social and legislative climate, and a continuing limitation on resources, the practices recommended are those calculated to provide optimum results for resources invested.

It is difficult if not impossible to advance proposals which have universal applicability. Program strategies which function well in a large, highly concentrated urban operation may not be appropriate for extended, largely rural areas. The availability of related social services, the prevailing social tradition, and the adequacy of the local tax base, for example, can significantly assist or constrain program and policy development. Where appropriate, therefore, alternatives or modifications of primary recommendations are offered.

Each functional area is introduced by some general observations on prevailing practices. This is followed by a broad statement of recommended strategy or a more succinct prescription of policy and practice preferred by the authors. Illustrations drawn from the programs observed in site visits are appended where pertinent to the discussion.

A. Pretrial Services: R.O.R. and Deferred Prosecution

The past decade has witnessed the proliferation of arrangements for minimizing penetration of the criminal justice system by selected types of offenders. Pretrial release, or alternatives to arrest and jailing of suspects, and deferred prosecution or diversion programs are two ways in which criminal justice and correctional workloads are reduced and the stigma attached to incarceration or full criminal prosecution is largely avoided. In many jurisdictions no special pretrial program exists; release on recognizance (ROR or OR) is accomplished informally with the court approving such orders at arraignment or preliminary hearing upon motion of the defense counsel, while prosecutors "divert" some cases simply by withholding the filing of charges or dropping them after filing.

Where more formally organized pretrial service programs exist, they have operated under the administrative auspices of a wide variety of sponsoring agencies. Many programs, initiated as federally funded experimental or demonstration projects, have had to find new sources of support and/or administrative housing as project funding expired. One option is to create a new service entity to provide pretrial services, perhaps attached to the court structure in order to gain official status and hopefully some support from the judiciary at budget time. A simpler alternative might be to house the pretrial services within an existing agency, in which event the probation department becomes a logical candidate for such administrative placement.

Concerning the appropriate administrative auspices for services to persons awaiting trial, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals took a somewhat equivocal position, noting the need for explication of administrative responsibility in the pretrial area and calling for clarifying legislation without specifying its nature. In appended commentary the Commission noted that persons awaiting trial historically have been the responsibility of no single agency and none has felt obliged to provide them with services. Pointing out that the lack of clear-cut administrative responsibility and overlapping claims to jurisdiction have impeded reform in this area, the Commission observed that existing agencies have the knowledge and capability to effectively handle persons awaiting trial if their responsibility to do so is made clear. The Commission recommendation that probation departments develop release on recognizance programs and provide the pretrial services required by persons released in this manner is spelled out in Standard 10.5 of the Corrections volume:

> "Each probation office serving a community or metropolitan area of more than

> 100,000 persons that does not already have an effective release on recognizance program should immediately develop, in cooperation with the court, additional staff and procedures to investigate arrested adult defendants for possible release on recognizance (ROR) while awaiting trial, to avoid unnecessary use of detention in jail. . . . The probation agency should provide pretrial intervention services to persons released on recognizance."[1]

Unfortunately, official agencies of the justice system have been slow to respond to the need for pretrial services. The American Justice Institute, under contract to LEAA, recently completed a two-year, nationwide study of alternatives to jail incarceration.[2] One of the strong impressions reported by field staff of that project was that non-official, private entities have been responsible for much, if not most, of the pioneering effort to establish ROR and "diversion" programs around the country and continue to evidence greater enthusiasm in that area. In most instances the "seed money" funds utilized by private groups have been equally available to established probation departments, yet relatively few probation agencies have initiated and operated such programs.

A problem particular to deferred prosecution or to other diversion programs is the potential danger that the existence of special services on the fringes of or outside the justice system may encourage the treatment of supervision of persons who, in the absence of such programs, might have been simply reprimanded and released. To avoid this widening of the net of criminal justice, and thus defeating the goal of reducing workloads, the U.S. Attorney General's Office recommends that to be considered for diversion a case should be one which otherwise could be successfully prosecuted.

1. *Suggested strategy.* The widespread success of pretrial services programs in reducing the jailing of suspects before trial without seriously jeopardizing public safety, suggests that all criminal justice jurisdictions should provide alternatives to incarceration for selected offenders pending trial. Probation administrators should view the organization and development of such services as an appropriate part of their responsibility. Correctional administrators, together with prosecutors and the courts, should undertake the development of deferred prosecution or diversion programs. So that deferred prosecution does not become a tool for broadening the scope of criminal justice, care must be exercised to insure that such programs do not focus on those who might be simply reprimanded and released.

Both official (probation) and non-official (private) agencies can successfully house and administer ROR and diversion programs. While organizational placement within the probation department may enhance the likelihood of sustained budgetary support, private administration may provide greater flexibility in staff selection, it is sometimes less costly, and it frequently offers an element of offender advocacy not typically found in the official public agency. Local circumstances may largely determine administrative placement; for example, the private agency may be more appropriate in large urban jurisdictions, while the probation agency may be the only entity that can serve rural or sparsely populated areas.

2. *Examples of successful practice.* Two pretrial service programs, one operated by the Federal Probation Service in Chicago and the other by a private agency under contract to the Hennepin County Probation Department, suggest the nature of such programs and the varied ways in which they may be administered.

Chicago Pretrial Services. An apparently well organized version of both OR and diversion functions was encountered in site visits with personnel of the United States Division of Parole in Chicago. The Chicago office of the Federal Probation Service has a special staff unit assigned to each of these two pretrial functions. Cases initially identified by the U.S. Attorney's Office are referred to the Federal Probation Service for investigation and recommendation. If the probation assessment is positive, a case moves promptly to finalization of the contract agreement. The level and variety of probation services provided are comparable to those extended to regular probation cases.

Chief Probation Officer William Pilcher views pretrial services as the area of most rapid growth and predicts that this may well become the most important function of probation agencies. His assessment of the growing significance of this activity is supported by the annual report of the Probation Division for fiscal 1975. The year-end total of deferred prosecution cases under supervision was 1,259, an increase of 18.4 percent for the 12-month period.

Operation de Novo, Minneapolis. In sharp contrast to the official, public-agency nature of the federal program in Chicago is Operation de Novo, based in Minneapolis, which typifies the manner in which official agencies have learned to utilize and cooperate with a variety of private, non-official entities in the state. Originally developed and spon-

sored by the Urban Coalition of Minneapolis under the direction of its own governing committee, the program has operated with a variety of support funds, including LEAA and Department of Labor monies, a Hennepin County Probation Department subsidy, and private foundation contributions. As with most demonstration projects, the special funding eventually expired and since August, 1975, the program has operated under a contractual arrangement with the Hennepin County Probation Department.

Operation de Novo now works with both juvenile and adult offenders of both sexes, excluding only those accused of crimes of violence. The staff is composed of both professionals and paraprofessionals, with substantial minority representation. Some of those hired would not meet prevailing civil service requirements. The program directors view this greater flexibility in choice of staff as contributing to the program's effectiveness.

In addition to individual counseling, clients participate in group sessions which address survival skills, personal growth, and problems related to juveniles, parents, drug dependency, and the family. Program staff work with clients to meet emergency needs, explore vocational options and set career goals, find suitable training or educational programs, and work out an acceptable restitution payment plan. In-house resources are supplemented by those available from community service agencies.

As of September, 1974, 1,600 defendants have been diverted: 84 percent are 18 to 25 years old, 30 percent are minority group members, 35 percent are women, and 66 percent of all clients are unemployed at the time of diversion. Since inception of the program, 67 percent of Operation de Novo clients have successfully met program goals and initial arrest charges have been dismissed. Thirty-three percent have voluntarily terminated program services and returned to the courts for disposition. Only 17 percent of all diverted clients have been rearrested.[3]

B. Probation Intake: Case Diagnosis and Planning

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals recommended that a presentence report "should be presented to the court in every case where there is a potential disposition involving incarceration and in all cases involving felonies or minors." However, in site visits to probation departments throughout the country it was found that a substantial portion (up to one-half) of felony court dispositions are rendered without benefit of a presentence investigation and report.* The inclusion of a formal recommendation by the investigating officer seems to be as varied as the requirement for the report, although frequently the officer contrives to imply a recommendation in his presentation of material reported to the court.

The compilation and analysis of objective information concerning the defendant, his present circumstances, and prior history clearly is an important contributor to intelligent, objective decision-making and the thoughtful recommendation of the officer performing this function is a critical part of that process. Probation officers typically report a high correlation between their recommendations, when submitted, and court decisions. Some research has found that correlation to be about 90 percent. Probation staff thus appear to be in a powerful position to influence the adjudication and the dispositional result.

An important aspect of the presentence study process is some evaluation of the offender's educational and/or vocational potential and, in cases involving violent, aberrant, or abnormal acts, some assessment of the offender's emotional stability and psychological normalcy. Such an evaluation is significant not only to the decision-making process, but as guides to the probation officer when and if the offender is returned to the community.

In practically all adult jurisdictions, the court may order special psychiatric analyses in cases where the defendant is thought to be exhibiting some aberrant characteristics or in cases where an insanity plea is entered. However, from the field visits undertaken for this project, it must be concluded that many adult probation intake operations have only minimal clinical diagnostic capability, especially when compared with juvenile probation programs across the country. This disparity reflects in part the willingness of the public to invest more heavily in youthful offenders in the hope that early intervention will terminate potential criminal careers. Disillusionment with the "medical model" of corrections also may have contributed to the failure to provide clinical resources.

The fact that treatment of offenders is not always clearly effective, however, does not reduce the importance of case diagnosis and planning. Careful assessment of individual cases and assignment of each to appropriate categories helps to rationalize

*The completion of a presentence investigation and report, normally seen as a core function of probation intake, is discussed only briefly here because this is the subject of a companion *Program Models*, completed concurrently with this report.

the decision-making process and assures some measure of consistency in offender management.

1. *Suggested strategy.* Probation agencies should be capable of undertaking case assessment and planning functions or arranging for the provision of such services. While the competent and experienced probation officer generally is capable of handling the major part of the assessment process, assistance from clinical or other specialized personnel should add to the adequacy of the reports and the validity of plans developed for offender management. In larger agencies this specialized workload probably will warrant the addition of clinical or other specialists to agency staff; in smaller jurisdictions provision of such services through contractual arrangements may be the only feasible alternative.

Given the importance of the probation officer's recommendation and report in determining court dispositions, the officer should be prepared to be accountable for the recommendation when it is made. The defendant's attorney should be permitted to review the report and to challenge any portions deemed inaccurate or believed to be improper interpretations of the facts.

An appropriate objective for correctional administrators and professional correctional organizations might be to support the enactment of a statutory requirement for the completion of presentence investigations and reports in all felony dispositions, in misdemeanant dispositions involving the possibility of incarceration, and in all juvenile proceedings (with the exception of traffic matters). Laws mandating this service probably should require the inclusion of a recommendation by the probation officer.

2. *Examples of successful practice.*

Maryland. With the assistance of an LEAA grant, the Maryland Division of Parole and Probation has developed a "Contractual Diagnostic Service," organizationally combined with an out-patient treatment service. In addition to group therapy for selected offenders, the program provides psychiatric diagnosis and psychological testing upon referral by courts or probation/parole staff. An unusual feature of the operation is the promptness of the service: diagnostic reports and recommendations for case management and treatment are returned in two or three days. The courts reportedly concur with the recommendations in about 90 percent of the cases.

In addition to assisting courts in case disposition and providing treatment for a limited number of offenders (about 40), the Maryland project seeks to train probation/parole officers in the management and supervision of the types of persons with whom the program deals—primarily sexual offenders and violent offenders. Project staff also work to develop knowledge concerning these kinds of behavior to facilitate development of more effective treatment and control measures.

Portland, Oregon. As a participant in LEAA's High Impact Cities program, Portland received substantial sums of money to demonstrate improved effectiveness in various criminal justice operations. The Impact project elected to invest a portion of these monies in a Diagnostic Intake Center to provide special assessment and prescriptive services for selected cases referred by the courts. While the program appears to have a somewhat tenuous relationship with state and local probation services, the project reportedly is well received by the judiciary. Efforts will be made to find the necessary fiscal support to continue the service as the Impact program winds down.

Seattle, Washington. The most impressive intake-diagnostic program observed during site visits was the Community-based Diagnostic and Evaluation Project located in Seattle. This program is operated by the Adult Parole and Probation Service of the Washington Division of Adult Corrections. With nearly half of the state's 3.5 million people residing in King County, the state Parole and Probation Service has long had a specialized intake unit operating in Seattle to serve the needs of the Superior (felony level) Courts. For the last several years LEAA funds have added significantly to the capability of the intake program.

The two major objectives of the project are to improve the success of felony offenders granted probation in the county and to increase the number of convicted felons retained in the community (rather than committed to prison) without increasing the risk to the community. In 1973, the pre-project year, 24 percent of probation recommendations on felony dispositions asked for prison commitment. In 1974 only 16 percent of recommendations called for this action, and in 1975 commitment recommendations were offered in only 14 percent of felony cases.

The improved quality of diagnostic reports and program prescriptions would seem apparent from the fact that concurrence by the courts with staff recommendations increased from 83 percent of cases in 1973 to 93 percent in 1975. Interestingly, the courts more often failed to concur with recommendations for imprisonment than with requests for probation. While within the expanded probation population violations during the first six months have increased, the difference is reported to be statistically insignifi-

cant. Project managers thus feel they have met both of their announced objectives.

The program concentrates its psychiatric diagnosis, psychological testing, and vocational needs assessment on about 40 percent of the cases, about half of which are violent offenders. The other half are those with special psychological problems or other needs. An unusual feature of the project is its use of diagnostic teams, consisting of two staff specialists supported by clinical diagnosticians. One staff member is designated the "presentence specialist"; the other is described as the "community resource specialist." The latter is charged with identification of resources within the community to match the diagnosed need. A third specialist is responsible for giving the probationer whatever immediate assistance is needed pending formal assignment of the case to a supervising field officer.

A total of some 110 agencies and organizations in the King County area have been enlisted to provide client support services as needed. This is perhaps the most unique aspect of the program. Undoubtedly it has helped to assure the program's credibility with the judiciary as reflected in the high percentage of staff recommendations accepted.

Parole and Probation Division state managers express considerable satisfaction with the success of the operation and hope to secure funds for its replication in at least two or three other state population centers. The program is viewed as impressive for its success in reducing the percentage of cases committed to prison, its acceptance and support by the judiciary, its imaginative use of staff in a team relationship, and its capacity to identify and use a wide range of existing community resources in support of its clientele.

C. Classification of Offenders

Most probation and parole agencies have established some form of case classification as a means of identifying the level of perceived risk posed by the offender, as a guide for allocation of officer time, and as a measurement of workload carried by officers, both individually and collectively. While various names are used to differentiate the levels of supervision, most are essentially restatements of the traditional Maximum/Medium/Minimum supervision classes.

Some systems place almost all new cases in the highest supervision class. Others categorize primarily in terms of seriousness of commitment offense and length of prior record or, occasionally, the kind and extent of services required. Practically all systems specify a schedule of contact requirements for each classification. Unfortunately, such contacts are almost universally described in terms of their number (per month or other time interval) or the type and location (home, office, telephone, or collateral). Few reveal the quality or content of the contact.

In most instances the work plan looks optimistically toward gradual reduction of the supervision level if the client manages to avoid further transgressions of rules or laws (or at least avoids apprehension for any transgressions). In many instances the final or minimum level amounts to no supervision or assistance other than that specifically requested by the client or made necessary by rearrest. Site visits for this study disclosed some new terms for this, such as "banking" or "filing" of cases. The judicial or paroling authority may or may not be advised when such categorization is effected.

While most classification processes provide some reasonably objective (though generalized) guidelines for initial assignment to category, none of those observed extend such guidelines to the reclassification process. Here passage of time and avoidance of violation are supplemented by the subjective hunches of field officer and/or first line supervisor to effect the status change.

1. *Suggested strategy.* Case classification should be perceived as the initial phase of case management planning. Specific objectives to be achieved by the offender and the agency should be identified. Ideally, such planning should involve the investigating officer, the officer responsible for case supervision, the first line supervisor, any specialist involved in the case assessment, and the offender.

Case classification should determine (1) control requirements (restrictions on movement, residence, associations; frequency of contact with the probation or parole officer; reporting requirements); (2) treatment needs (employment, training, education, residence, and financial needs; counseling and guidance addressing specific problems such as drug or alcohol abuse; treatment of any other psychological or emotional abnormalities); and (3) the administrative categorization of the case as to the extent and nature of staff allocation of time; possible assignment to specialized caseload or treatment program; and specification of the degree of perceived risk posed by the offender. Identification of strategies and resources to meet needs is essential.

Classification is an ongoing process. It should provide for periodic review (probably quarterly) of actions initiated and completed by the offender and the agency. Reviews are a time for reclassification or change of plan as indicated by changing circumstan-

ces or reassessments of needs for control or treatment. Achievement of defined objectives should trigger a reduction in controls and restraints, as well as in staff time invested, and look toward the earliest possible release from supervision consistent with public safety.

The development of specific, objective norms or guidelines for categorization of risk and intensity of supervision will permit more consistent handling of cases and provide a more rational basis for determining staff time requirements. The development and consistent use of a logical classification process provides a basis for rational management of probation or parole caseloads and is a prerequisite for the determination of the numbers and kinds of staff and other resources needed.

2. *Examples of successful practice.*

Wisconsin. A promising effort to develop a sophisticated system for classifying cases into categories of risk and services needed was found in a special project of the Wisconsin Bureau of Probation and Parole. Instigated by a legislative mandate calling for better methods of determining staff requirements and effectively utilizing all staff, the project was launched with special funding from the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice. Started in fall, 1975, the program is served by 7 researchers and 13 field staff members.

The first progress report (December, 1975) recounts the findings of a rather exhaustive review of efforts across the nation to devise more effective classification schemes and draws from them the following conclusions:

- "Even the most effective classification procedures, which identify appropriate levels of supervision do not of themselves reduce revocation or recidivism rates. *It is, therefore, very important to identify the types of cases upon which the increased attention could be productively expended.*
- Minimum supervision groups had the lowest total violation rates while the intensive supervision group had the highest rate. *The intensive group recorded greatest number of technical violations.* This may have merely reflected the increase in supervisory contacts by agents.
- The experimental *random assignment of offenders to various intensities of supervision has had no significant impact upon violation rates.* The number of contacts between offenders and agent are seemingly unrelated to success or failure under supervision when the assignment was made on a random basis. This implies that a simple reduction in client to agent ratios does not effect a corresponding reduction in criminal behavior.
- There is some evidence that supervision may be *improved by matching the offender type with specialized agents.* The strategy of matching the offender with a particular style of supervision represents an important innovation in supervision technique.
- Previous classification schemes *question the value of "all-purpose" counseling and supervision* and demonstrate that effective supervision deals with treatment specifics, not generalities. Data suggest that *much of the supervision effort, which is routinely directed to the offenders, is not effective* and does not produce any change in the delinquent or criminal behavior of the client, *unless such treatment is designed specifically to the need for services.*
- It is evident that the first six to twelve months of supervision are generally the most critical. Violation rates tend to decline with the passage of time. Consequently, those who remain under supervision, after the first year have an increased chance of successful termination."[4]

The Wisconsin project will rely primarily on three bases for classification of offenders: (1) *A Client Management Classification* includes the usual elements of a social history, an exploration of attitudes toward the offense pattern, and an examination of interpersonal relationships (family, friends, etc.). Medical history also is included. (2) *A Risk Analysis* reduces the offense and the prior record to arithmetic values similar to a base expectancy scale and results in a three-level classification of risk of further law violation. And (3) *a Client Needs and Strengths Assessment* is derived from the intake worker's evaluation and the client's expressed notions and is buttressed by some psychological tests. The three-way evaluation will provide a basis for the probation or parole plan, including allocation to one of four different levels of supervision.

The project will explore alternate treatment modalities as well as different ways of combining and deploying staff and other resources. For example, the team supervision concept, including the use of paraprofessionals and volunteers, will be tested and at least limited use of staff specialists to handle special categories of clients (alcoholics, drug abusers, sex offenders) is projected.

The Bureau workload will be analyzed and inventoried and time requirements for the performance of identified tasks will be determined through a state-

wide, longitudinal study. This is expected to produce a more objective estimate of staff required to perform the delineated duties. Further development of the Bureau's management information system and its adaptation to permit program evaluation capability also is an objective of the project.

On balance, the program appears to be a most ambitious and comprehensive effort to develop a strategy for effective management and service of defined categories of offenders. If program staff are even moderately successful in achieving stipulated goals, the results will merit careful study by correctional field service managers. Frequent reports detailing progress to date reflect a highly interesting attempt on the part of an established bureaucracy to reexamine its methods, procedures, and purposes and to move toward more rational means of accomplishing its mission.

Fresno County, California. Another example of successful case classification and staff deployment is provided by the Fresno County Probation Department. Here a growing workload, resulting in part from increased use of probation for both misdemeanants and felony offenders, has not been matched by increases in staff. Probation Chief James Rowland has responded to this all too common circumstance with a new formulation for organization of the agency work and deployment of staff.

Pyramiding workloads, when parceled out in some equitable manner over existing staff, soon reach the point where even perfunctory attention to all cases precludes meaningful service or surveillance to any. The solution, as Rowland sees it, is to identify the minority of cases where the risk factor requires some surveillance and provide it. For the remaining majority of cases the departmental mission is to develop or gain access to resources or programs, to determine which programs or resources are appropriate for particular cases, and to assist in making them accessible to probationers. Staff time is committed to identifying programs or resources, matching them with probationer needs, and effecting the linkage between individuals and programs.

Continued participation in the program is the probationer's option; he is not penalized for failure to exploit the opportunity. Further investment of staff time and effort is dependent on the probationer's request or his involvement in further difficulty. The core function of probation officers has shifted from carrying a caseload to identifying and developing program resources and assuring their continued availability.

Staff time saved in this manner is reinvested in related county programs. Probation officers screen all jail bookings for eligibility for ROR with releases effected in an estimated 50 percent of all cases. Cases initially identified by the District Attorney for diversion to a deferred prosecution option also are reviewed by probation staff. A joint effort with the sheriff and county mental health agency has opened up a treatment alternative for selected cases sentenced to the county jail. Probation staff also serve the populations of the county honor farm and work-release program and assist in screening for work and education assignment and eligibility for furlough. Offenders committed to the honor farm as a condition of probation are provided with an evening education program and the assistance of some 50 volunteers in securing employment upon release. County justice administrators (sheriff, prosecutor, public defender, court administrator, probation officer) under the aegis of the county administrator's office, meet bi-monthly to discuss mutual concerns and share information on departmental plans, budget proposals, and other matters.

Rowland also has initiated an organized effort to educate the citizenry (e.g., ladies clubs, PTAs, professional groups) in the processes and needs of the justice system. A common medium is to provide day-long seminars to expose such groups to various aspects of criminal justice and corrections. This may include meeting with a judge, observation of the court in action, or visiting a correctional institution. This educational strategy, together with the extensive use of volunteers in both institution and field programs, should generate considerable support for the criminal justice process within this county of some 440,000 people.

D. Parole Intake Programs

Within the correctional continuum, the "status passage" which characterizes the transition from prison inmate to parolee traditionally has been a weak and awkward one. Major responsibility for developing an acceptable parole plan frequently has been left to the inmate, with minimal assistance from an overworked institutional parole officer. Locating adequate housing and finding a job pose problems for a majority of releasee. These very real problems are compounded by the releasee's sense of insecurity about the reception he will receive from family and friends, anxieties incidental to his relationship with an unknown parole officer, and concerns about his ability to live within the sometimes complex parole rules.[5] In some jurisdictions paroling authorities have required that inmates obtain employment prior to release, which has occasionally led to the develop-

ment of questionable practices which satisfy the letter of the requirement while transgressing its purpose and spirit.

The popular press and the professional literature are replete with descriptions of the plight of the parolee who passes through the prison gate in an ill-fitting suit with a few state dollars in his pocket. The expectation that his successful re-entry into the community is thereby assured appears to be largely unrealistic. Many newly released persons require considerable assistance if they are to succeessfully re-establish themselves in the community. Such assistance is especially needed before and immediately after release. It is widely accepted that a large proportion of parole violations occur during the initial weeks and months after release. Some statistical data support this position and many parole agencies routinely place each new releasee under maximum supervision for the early period in the community.

Prison furlough and work/education release programs have been developed as a partial answer to the problems of community re-entry. These "graduated release" programs proliferated rapidly in the late 1960s and early '70s and now are operational in most jurisdictions, although the extent and nature of their practices vary widely. Some prison administrators would like to see all releases accomplished through placement in community-based, work-oriented programs. Others, perhaps advisedly, elect to restrict such placement to those seen as better risks, or at least to preclude the placement of those convicted of spectacular or widely publicized crimes.

In some states, work and education release practices have encountered resistance and criticism from local communities and there is evidence that some jurisdictions are now restricting the numbers placed in such programs. If there is a general trend in this direction, it comes at a most inauspicious time. Prisons and jails in this country are already chronically overcrowded and work/education release programs represent one way of freeing needed bed space within institutions—at least where program participants are housed in a separate facility.

While work/education release programs typically have operated under the direction of prison or jail administrators, there is some inclination to place them within the field services. In California, for example, the State Department of Corrections has assigned this function to the Parole and Community Services Division since the program's initiation. Similarly, the Probation Departments of San Diego and Tulare Counties and the Correctional Services Agency of Ventura County are operating work-release enterprises. Other California probation departments are actively serving these populations and participating in the selection of persons assigned to such programs.

Oregon recently has moved to consolidate its "transitional services" (i.e., work and education release) with the state probation and parole operation. In the Washington Division of Adult Corrections an ambitious work/study release program is housed in an administratively separate unit but staffed with parole officers. An interesting development in California's Department of Corrections is a move to close out the larger State-operated correctional centers in favor of contracting with private agencies for the housing of program participants.

To the extent that these transitional services represent a genuine effort to achieve the offender's reintegration into the community, the management of such programs would seem to be a logical part of the field operation. The use of private agencies to provide housing promises to reduce the community relations problems typically associated with correctional agency operation, even as it should minimize the stigma incidental to residence in a correctional center.

In addition to graduated release programs, some jurisdictions have attempted to improve coordination between institutional and field services in order to ease the transition from the institution to parole. Such arrangements generally include prerelease planning with the offender's participation and involvement of the parole officer and continuing assistance of varied kinds as the individual is released, especially during the first few months of his life in the community.

1. *Suggested strategy.* Parole agencies should develop and expand programs and practices calculated to ease the offender's return to the community. While practices necessarily will vary with factors such as geographic distance between institution and home, the available sources of support from the parolee's family and community, or the period of time which has elapsed since incarceration, certain desirable objectives for release strategy development can be specified. For example, placement arrangements should be started well in advance of the release date (two to three months). Planning and development of the placement plan should be a shared responsibility between parolee and agency, with the parolee's preferences for living and job arrangements receiving every possible consideration. Efforts should be made to acquaint the parolee with his parole officer prior to the release date, with the

field officer making intermittent visits to the institution. Where the field officer cannot conduct prerelease interviews with the parolee, institution staff should have adequate time to assure the prompt movement of necessary communications. Where possible, agency funds should allow for subsidization of the releasee until he can be self-supporting within the community.

Initial classification as to kind and amount of assistance needed, as well as the degree of supervision, should be determined in a joint planning session involving the parolee, the parole officer, and his supervisor. While maximum supervision (and hopefully maximum assistance) probably is appropriate for the majority of new parolees, it is equally true that a significant minority do not require and should not receive it purely for the sake of adhering to standard bureaucratic practice.

The widespread support for work and education release programs among correctional administrators suggests the feasibility of their continued expansion at both the state and county levels. Such programs provide a badly needed transitional service between the maximum restriction of the prison or jail and the freedom of community living. They offer a realistic testing ground of the offender's readiness for release. Work-release programs may enhance self-esteem by providing some earnings which can be used for family support and a "nest-egg" toward return to the community. Educational release, which seems particularly appropriate for the youthful offender, frequently launches a college program that is continued after parole. When housed outside the prison or central jail, as such programs should be, they provide additional bed space in the central facility and they typically represent a savings in operating costs.

While there are successful graduated release programs operating under both institution and field administration, the fact that the programs look toward the offender's community reintegration and offer considerable opportunity for interaction with parole staff prior to eventual parole would seem to suggest the logic of housing the functions within the parole operation.

2. *Examples of successful practice.*

Parole Impact. One of the more exciting programs observed during this study, and one that meets or exceeds the objectives outlined above, is the Parole Impact Program based at the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Concord. Under the Inside/Outside concept of parole supervision developed by the Parole Board in that state, inmates have ongoing contact with parole staff, beginning several months prior to release and continuing through the initial period in the community. In the past, institutional parole staff generally conducted a single interview with the prospective parolee prior to the parole hearing and parolees first met their parole officers after release to the community.

The Inside/Outside concept was first fully implemented under the Parole Impact Program in January, 1974. A project report summarizes the program format:

> "Under this program, younger inmates between the ages of 17 and 26 are offered Inside/Outside support. In some cases, inmates begin developing relationships with Parole Impact (Inside/Outside) Officers almost immediately after they are committed to the Institution, while they are still housed at the 'new line.' Other inmates, with a longer time until Parole Eligibility, meet the Parole Impact Officer after having been incarcerated for some months. During 'inside' contact the prospective parolee and the Impact Parole Officer identify problems and needs of the parolee. They develop plans for appropriate service programs and the Parole Impact Officer begins managing resources in addition to providing personal and counseling support. Parole Impact Officers often petition in behalf of the prospective parolee for early parolee release and serve as advocates for release at the parole granting hearing. The Parole Impact Officer continues working with the parolee for approximately six months after release or until the parolee is functioning stably within the community."[6]

Implementation of the Inside/Outside concept proved so beneficial that similar programs were developed within the parole system. Now Parole Impact is the major component of a network of such parole programs. The Massachusetts Community Assistance Program utilizes the Inside/Outside concept in providing mentally retarded parolees with community assistants to ease the transition into the community. Six prerelease centers and MCI-Framingham serve as bases of operation for Inside/Outside parole officers who handle both community and institutional caseloads. The Worcester Multi-Service Center also provides one Inside/Outside officer for persons incarcerated at the Worcester County House of Correction.[7]

Parole Impact program staff tend to be young, street-wise, highly motivated people who typically

would not meet the qualifications for regular parole officers. Women as well as men work with the all-male population. Any lack of sophistication in correctional theory or the ways of the bureaucracy is more than compensated by their enthusiasm, energy, and empathy with clientele. Initially they are employed as assistant parole officers at a lower salary, but they may be promoted to parole officer assignments. The regularity of this promotional pattern has posed significant problems of staff turnover within the experimental program.

Some 25 percent of the institutional population of 400 have participated in this special program. Screening interviews attempt to insure voluntariness; no pressure is exerted to secure inmate involvement. However, the fact that some 36 percent of those participating in the program have obtained early release, as recommended by program staff, provides substantial inducement to participate. Program managers report that the early release practices have netted a saving of some $125,000 in prison costs since the program's inception.

Program staff use the contract idea in developing institutional program objectives for the inmate and the entire project is moving toward adoption of the Mutual Agreement Program as an operating base. Restitution to victims may be one aspect of the agreement. An impact caseload normally consists of 10 inmates in the institution and 25 in the community. The project has some capability to purchase services and uses a voucher system to provide these resources. While staff evince a reassuring identification with the client and a concern for his welfare, they see the monitoring of parolee activities and limit-setting by staff as important ingredients of the operation.

A detailed descriptive-evaluative study of this program was undertaken by the Center for Criminal Justice of Harvard Law School in August, 1975. While generally positive in its assessment, the study report contained no analysis of recidivism data. A study of recidivism patterns completed for the Parole Board by M. Hyler in May, 1975, showed a recidivism rate of 21.8 percent for Impact clients as compared with 28.6 percent for a control group of regularly released MCI parolees. Another in-house analysis compared the Base Expectancy Rate (a statistically computed anticipated failure rate) of Impact clients with their actual performance. Here the expectation was for a failure rate of 33.7 percent as compared to the actual performance of 21.8 percent. This analysis also examined the differential success pattern of certain defined subgroups within the population and concluded that the program was most effective with whites who were 20 years or older at time of imprisonment, had been employed more than three months prior to incarceration, and had no history of drug abuse.

E. Residential Support Services

A major development of the decade following the Crime Comission report has been the establishment and widespread use of residential units for offenders which operate between the nominal control of probation or parole supervision and the total confinement of prison or jail. Few if any of the principal service elements of contemporary American corrections present such a wide variety as these residential centers. Some offer little more than shelter, food, and companionship. Others provide a regimen that is nearly as structured as total confinement. A minority are predicated upon elaborate theories of behavior genesis and modification. Many are designed to serve a particular kind of client or problem, such as drug or alcohol abuse. Some are operated by official correctional agencies, some by other governmental units, and others by established private agencies or by groups specifically organized for that function. They serve both youthful and adult offender populations and, while the vast majority are for males, an increasing number are for female offenders and there has been some experimentation with programs serving both sexes.

The halfway house historically has operated as an adjunct to the institutional program, a supervised and somewhat protected setting for the newly released inmate. In the mid-60s the Federal Bureau of Prisons initiated a new trend by establishing a number of "community correctional centers" or prerelease programs for inmates nearing their parole date. Operated by the Bureau of Prisons rather than the Probation and Parole Service, these units, in effect, are community extensions of the institution. Many state work-release and education-release programs function in this fashion. The state of Florida probably has been the most aggressive in developing such centers, with more than 20 units now in operation and others projected, for both men and women. Many local jail systems have followed this pattern, although others house their releases within the institutional structure, typically incurring problems of contraband control (particularly drugs) as a result.

However, there are good reasons for viewing community residential centers primarily as an alternative to institutions rather than a "decompression chamber" for released inmates. This program mode

offers one of the few viable alternatives to lock-up for that population which cannot be handled with normal (or even intensive) field supervision procedures. It is one of the few correctional strategies which offer hope of counteracting the rush to place offenders in prisons and jails. The "track record" of these centers seems at least as good, the climate is clearly healthier and more humane, and the per capita cost of a well-run program generally is less than that of the traditional correctional institution.

Recent years have witnessed the establishment of a variety of part-way facilities which have been developed as alternatives to incarceration.[8] They are, in effect, "halfway-in" programs. With state and federal prison systems housing over a quarter of a million inmates, and with county jails generally overcrowded, these programs offer a badly needed alternative to lock-up. Probation agencies, however, have been distressingly slow in developing this option, although juvenile agencies generally have done a better job than those responsible for adults.

1. *Suggested strategy.* Probation agencies should consider the development of half-way residential facilities as an alternative to incarceration for those offenders who require more control or treatment than is provided by normal community supervision. Parole agencies should view the half-way house as a decompression chamber for the incarcerated offender or as a base for educational or work-release programs. While residential centers may be a logical place for special treatment programs aimed at particular kinds of treatment need, such as alcohol or drug abuse, the counseling/treatment aspects of the program probably are best relegated to a secondary role, with employment placement, job training, or education viewed as the primary program activity.

Probation and parole agencies may want to consider the use of facilities operated by private agencies or organizations, undertaking direct management only when other options do not exist or cannot be developed. Contract operation by non-public agencies may be preferable because such programs generally are less stigmatizing, may encounter less community resistance, are sometimes less costly, and offer the probation or parole administrator greater flexibility in terminating problem-plagued operations. Private agency operation also provides some elements of a constituency in the community.

Development of these part-way facilities appears to offer the best chance of delimiting the continued growth of prison populations. However, care must be taken to avoid the over-use of residential programs for cases which can be handled effectively under regular probation or parole supervision. Clearly defined guidelines for selecting offenders to receive such placement are critical to successful operation.

2. *Examples of successful practice.*

Portland House. In recent years, Minnesota has established a varied group of state and local community-based residential alternatives to imprisonment. The PORT (Probationed Offenders Rehabilitation and Training) program in Rochester, now in its eighth year of operation, is perhaps the best known, having been extensively referenced in the literature. It continues to serve a tri-county area in southeastern Minnesota and is credited with having contributed significantly to a substantial drop in prison commitments from the region.

Portland House, a private residential alternative in Minneapolis, is based on the PORT model. The program is housed in a former fraternity house adjacent to the University of Minnesota campus. The Board of the Lutheran Social Services agency serves as the program's board of directors. It is supplemented by an advisory group of business, professional, and criminal justice representatives from the community. Support funds are received from the state criminal justice planning agency, the Department of Corrections, the Hennepin County Adult Probation Department, and the Lutheran Social Services group.

Portland House operates primarily as an alternative to county jail or state prison commitment for young adult felony offenders. Referrals are received from several criminal justice agencies, but most come from the Hennepin County Probation Department. The facility has space for 16 residents. With a waiting list at all times, the program can be selective in the clientele accepted. Since the program began in October, 1973, 245 persons have been screened by residents and staff and 84 have been accepted. In 1975, 127 were screened and 43 (34 percent) were accepted.

Portland House residents receive group therapy five days a week and financial, employment, educational, family, and personal counseling on a regular basis. Some also attend Alcoholics Anonymous meetings twice weekly. While the program utilizes a group counseling format to achieve harmony among program participants and as a device for regulating group living, principal emphasis is on securing employment or education or job training, with residents held accountable for intelligent management of their earnings. Residents pay room and board, restitution, family and self support, and income taxes. The

yearly cost of the Portland House program for one resident is a little over $7,000, compared to the average yearly cost of $10,000 for prison incarceration.

Of the 26 persons currently in the graduation phase, 93 percent have not committed a new felony and are considered to have successfully changed many of their behavior patterns. Of the 14 others who have been phased out of the program with moderate success, only 3 have committed a new crime. Thus, of 40 persons released from the residential program, 88 percent are functioning in the community without serious criminal behavior.

The multi-ethnic staff of nine includes those with doctoral and masters degrees, college students, and ex-offenders. All are committed to achieving the program's integration into the community. The absence of community resistance in a middle-class neighborhood probably is attributable to careful work with community residents, bolstered by the extensive involvement of both staff and residents in community meetings and neighborhood improvement projects. Residents and staff engaged in over 60 community speaking programs during the year and were involved in a number of neighborhood assistance projects and recreational endeavors. The Neighborhood Advisory Board meets regularly during the year and provides a valuable communications resource for the program.

Park Centre Settlement House. Any large correctional agency accrues a group of subjects for whom there appears to be no appropriate placement. Continued and progressive failure, aberrant personal characteristics, or violent or other serious offense patterns tend to preclude this special offender group from placement in any residential facility which selects its candidates. Such is the population which gravitates to the California Youth Authority's Park Centre Settlement House in a working-class residential area of central San Diego. The only criteria for admission are that the parolee has no other place to go and that he wishes to be placed there. Residents (currently 16 males and 9 females) may stay as long as they wish unless they are evicted after a formal hearing or subject to revocation and return to an institution by reason of further law violation. The average period of stay is 90 days.

The term "settlement house" is significant because the program organizers conceived of it as a means of providing access to the social life of the neighborhood. Its mission is to relate its clientele to the economic and social resources of the surrounding community—in effect, to provide some community roots and a legitimate role for those who have no stabilizing influences.

The program receives its participants from Youth Authority institutions from which they typically have been released several months early, or directly from the Reception Center, in which case the program serves as an alternative to conventional institutionalization. Parole officers in the San Diego area occasionally refer cases here in lieu of recommending their return to an institution. Juvenile and criminal court commitments, in about equal proportions, constitute this 17–20 year old population.

The physical facilities consist of three aging, adjacent two-story houses, plus some incidental service buildings, and a newer rambling one-story structure in which the professional staff are housed. Settlement House graduates who remain in the immediate area (as many do) continue to be served by Park Centre parole staff and program.

Program staff constitute an interesting mix. A supervising parole officer, who conceived and organized the program in 1971, has managed it since its inception. An assistant supervisor and two parole officers constitute the core professional staff. Two clinical psychologists from a nearby Youth Authority drug treatment program provide services as needed. Parole aides in the form of CETA personnel assist in job and community resource development. Volunteers assist in tutoring, craft work, and in the operation of a rudimentary protected work shop which produces patio furniture. Ten "contract house parents," equally divided as to sex, are drawn primarily from graduate students of the several universities in the area. They supervise the house operation during the evening and night hours and on weekends. As part of their compensation they receive food and lodging in the house. They share with residents the preparation of meals and supervise the house-cleaning chores. As "contract" employees they may be hired outside normal civil service procedures.

Program Director Arthur Dorsey, a one-time professor at San Diego State University's School of Social Work, describes the program mode as a form of behavior modification, with an aggressive, confrontive stance used to induce residents to examine their behaviors and motivations. Rewards and sanctions for approved and disapproved conduct are clearly defined and consistently used. Dorsey plays a no-nonsense, authoritarian role and has no sympathy with participative management devices for operating the program. The eviction hearing is the ultimate sanction for residents who repeatedly fail to comply with the rules of group living and job search requirements or do not show consistent application in a community training program. However, eviction

hearings frequently terminate with the resident's redefinition of his obligations and recommitment to their fulfillment.

No solid research data exist to measure the effectiveness of this program. However, in recent months an evaluation team of central office personnel descended upon the operation, scrutinized all aspects of the program and management in detail, and pronounced their approval of this non-traditional enterprise. Parole violation rates for this failure-prone, high-risk population are no higher than those of regular parolees. Per capita costs are quoted as $747 per month, approximately three-fourths the cost of Youth Authority institution operation.

Settlement House appears to represent an innovative effort to dress the purposes and activities of an authoritarian correctional agency in some of the garb of the counter-culture. The operation at least physically resembles some of the "communes" organized by California's disaffected younger generation in both urban and rural settings. Its unique quality is a commitment to serving those who have nowhere else to go.

F. Paraprofessionals and Volunteers

During much of the first half of the twentieth century, correctional reformers and theoreticians equated improvement in the correctional operation with increased professionalization of staff. While perhaps more true of the field services than institutions, and more apparent in juvenile than in adult corrections, the trend was generally pervasive. The National Probation and Parole Association and its successor, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, set the desirable norm for probation and parole staff at the level of the masters degree, preferably in social work. Many civil service and personnel agencies sought to improve program effectiveness by upgrading the educational level of staff. Special study commissions generally have supported the notion. And today, gaining entry to probation and parole agencies normally requires at least a bachelor's degree with graduate training in the social sciences seen as desirable. If college training is the benchmark of professionalism, then probation and parole have fairly well achieved this goal.

For more than a decade now an opposing rhetoric has been striving to make itself heard. Generated perhaps by the "war on poverty," supported by the civil rights movement, and strengthened by the decline of the medical model of correctional practice is the thesis that middle-class college graduates lack credibility with ghetto residents and the minorities, that they do not understand the problems of the slum dweller, and thus that they are lacking in both comprehension of and ability to communicate with the typical correctional client. An obvious solution is to create a role within the bureaucracy for the less educated and the minority member. The proponents of this position have found their best sounding board within federal governmental circles and the move to bring the paraprofessional into governmental agencies has found several sources of support in federally funded programs. A powerful argument with legislatures and funding agencies has been that of economy: paraprofessionals can be hired for less.

Understandably, many of those committed to the ethic of professionalization, perhaps having struggled with considerable personal sacrifice to secure their own credentials, view with alarm the encroachment of persons they see as unqualified. The idea that the less educated can adequately perform some aspects of their work may challenge the status of professionals; even worse, it may threaten to erode the salary structure. In one California community where the county fathers proposed to add paraprofessional staff rather than regular probation officers, an employees' court suit, supported by the state's professional organization, sought to block the move. Fortunately, many correctional agencies have been less threatened by the incorporation of paraprofessionals (including ex-offenders) into the staffing pattern and accommodations have been effected. In other agencies, however, the paraprofessional has been only grudgingly admitted to a distinctly subordinate role.

Paralleling the growth in the use of paraprofessionals has been the surprising resurgence and proliferation of the use of volunteers in community corrections. The pioneering work of Judge Leenhouts of Royal Oak, Michigan, where an entire misdemeanor probation service was developed largely around the work of volunteers, is well known. While volunteers have long been used in correctional institutions, particularly at the juvenile level, recent years have witnessed the nation-wide development of volunteer support for field services programs. In some instances volunteer relationships established with individual offenders during the period of incarceration continue to provide support as the offender is released to the community. An impressive illustration of this type of program is found in the work of a private agency known as AMICUS, based in the twin-cities area of Minnesota, which works largely with felons during and subsequent to their incarceration in state prisons.

Strategies for the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals may be considered together because the two

appear to have much in common. A majority of volunteers are, in effect, paraprofessionals; that is, they generally do not have the training or experience seen as professionally qualifying. There are, of course, many professionals (doctors, lawyers, clinicians, teachers, etc.) who volunteer their services to correctional agencies, but these are in the minority.[9] Students, who make up one of the major sources for the recruitment of volunteers, frequently also are found in paraprofessional roles and they may move from one status to the other in the process of becoming professionals. Volunteers sometimes are paid a small stipend, as are paraprofessionals. Many agencies which rely on the assistance of volunteers, paraprofessionals, and student interns place the recruitment and supervision of these workers within a single administrative unit. Technical or theoretical differences between the two thus may be ignored and a single administrative stance toward all of these sources of staff assistance may be adopted.

1. *Suggested strategy.* The assistance of volunteers and paraprofessionals constitutes a tested and established resource for correctional agencies of all types. In periods of staff shortages and budget deficiencies the relatively modest investment necessary to recruit, train, and supervise such workers should return substantial benefits to the agency. Successful volunteer programs have demonstrated their utility in building general public support over time, thus strengthening the agency's position in competition for shrinking tax dollars or at times when the correctional program is subject to criticism or attack.

Volunteers and paraprofessionals (particularly students) represent a significant manpower pool already partially trained and experienced. Their qualities and characteristics make them an excellent source for staff recruitment. Programs utilizing paraprofessionals should provide a career ladder so that effective people may secure the requisite training and education to qualify for full professional status and follow the normal promotional pattern prevailing within the agency.

Effective use of volunteers and paraprofessionals requires not only careful selection, training, and supervision, but some preparation of regular staff to insure a climate of acceptance and support in the agency.

2. *Examples of successful practice.*

Travis County (Texas). With crime on the increase, and with insufficient staff to cope with the growing workload, the Travis County Probation Department was hard pressed to meet its obligations. To help resolve this problem Adult Probation Chief Giles Garmon turned to the use of volunteers in 1968. By 1970 the growth in volunteer participation dictated the assignment of a volunteer coordinator. Today former probation officer Margaret Robertson recruits, screens, trains, and coordinates the activities of more than 160 volunteers as they assist the professional staff of 34 probation officers to manage a caseload of some 4,000 and to perform intake and investigation functions for the courts.

The work of the professional probation officers also is aided by the service of a group of nonprofessional probation assistants, approximately equal in number to the professional group. Assistants may be promoted to probation officer rank upon completion of the degree requirement.

Volunteers come from a variety of occupations and social circumstances. At the time of the site visit 100 of them were women, 61 were men. About 25 percent were of minority extraction. Since the campus of the University of Texas is but a few blocks from the probation office, the program finds substantial volunteer support from both faculty and student body. Some 27 law students had been active during the previous academic year, assisting with the completion of presentence reports.

Mrs. Robertson notes that success in the use of voluteers is largely dependent upon the attitudes of professional staff and views the readiness to accept volunteer help as a measure of the individual staff member's personal security. Staff training as well as volunteer training appears to be a prerequisite to the successful operation of a volunteer program. Staff who are reluctant to avail themselves of volunteer assistance are not pushed to do so, but currently all staff members are using volunteer help.

Some volunteers may perform specialized functions such as leadership of formal group counseling sessions or training of other volunteers in counseling procedures. However, the principal operational mode is to establish teams consisting of a probation officer, an assistant, and three to five volunteers who share a common responsibility for the management of a caseload. This team concept is of particular interest since it seems to facilitate the management of an otherwise unreasonable caseload, some of which run as high as 200 cases.

Mrs. Robertson observes that the need to recruit volunteers is continuous. While some volunteers work as much as two days per week and have been affiliated with the program for periods of several years, the typical contribution is three hours per week for a period of approximately one year. While the media are used to some extent, recruitment is

primarily dependent upon talks to various professional and other community organizations. Volunteers themselves are an important source of new recruits.

Although the point was not stressed, it would appear that through time the involvement of a large number of citizens in the activities of the probation department should develop a substantial reservoir of good will and support within the Austin community.

Two "Exemplary" Programs. Two programs recently awarded "exemplary program" status by LEAA are illustrative of the successful use of volunteers and paraprofessionals in community corrections. The Volunteer Probation Counselor Program of Lincoln, Nebraska, matched volunteers on a one-to-one basis with a group of probationers identified as high-risk. The program contained an evaluation component which compared the recidivism of the group receiving volunteer assistance with a matched group on regular probation. Table 1 reflects the rather remarkable results.[10]

The Ohio Parole Officer Aide Program selected a group of former parolees as participants in an LEAA-funded project to test their efficacy as parole officers. Under the Officer Aide program, ex-offender aides are carefully selected and trained and directly supervised by the senior parole officer. After six months of on-the-job training, the aide assumes duties similar to those of regular parole officers. He supervises cases, develops job resources, speaks at schools and before prerelease inmate groups, and uses his special background and perspective to help meet the needs of clients in his territory.

During fiscal 1974, aides were involved with 433 case terminations, including 68 parole violations, while regular officers had 9,294 terminations with 1,079 violations. Although true comparisons cannot be made because of differences in caseload size and composition, the evidence suggests that parolees under the supervision of aides present no greater risk to the community than their counterparts on regular caseloads. According to the Adult Parole Authority, aides have proven to be no more of an employment risk than regularly recruited parole officers. If anything, they appear to have improved the quality of services available to parolees.[11]

TABLE 1. *Comparative Rates of Recidivism Among Volunteer and Regular Caseloads*

	Volunteer Program Probationers (N = 40)	Regular Probationers (N = 44)
Additional Offenses	55.8%	70.5%
Additional Non-Traffic Offenses	15.0%	63.7%
More Than One Additional Offense	10.0%	52.5%

G. Use of Restitution.

Court-ordered restitution, more commonly a condition of probation than an obligation of the parolee, has long been used in most jurisdictions. However, the concept appears to have taken on a new significance in recent years. It fits neatly into the justice model of criminal justice, and its inclusion as a condition of probation makes the probation order more palatable in those cases in which the victim has suffered loss or injury.

In 1973 and 1974 the Minnesota Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control (LEAA) funded a study of the use of restitution in the courts and probation services of the state.[12] This well executed study was designed for use by judges, probation officers, and correctional planners in expanding the use of restitution as a correctional strategy and as an implementation of the principles of "simple justice." Expansion is viewed as desirable, despite the high cost in correctional resources, because the benefits of compensation could be offered to more victims and the rehabilitative effect of making restitution could be extended to those most in need of it. The current practice, according to this study, is to select for participation in restitution programs only those offenders who have demonstrated "ability to pay." This criterion generally is operationalized by choosing offenders who are white, well-educated, and from the working or middle classes. Since those caught up in the criminal justice system tend to be poor, non-white, and members of the lower class, a large group of offenders in which the courts have little faith are not ordered to make restitution.

While the preselection of middle-class offenders has helped to insure program sucess, this practice may not meet the real needs of either the victim or the offender. Those offenders judged able to pay restitution—the better educated and the employed—are likely to be those for whom restitution has the least meaning. Their victims—also middle-class persons or large business—are likely to be least in need of compensation. Unfortunately also, the inequitable use of restitution leads to the inequitable application of alternative sanctions, such as imprisonment:

> "Restitution may be one way that members of the more affluent social classes avoid prison. . . . Since some judges in the interviewed sample expressed approval of resti-

tution as an alternative to prison sentences, some offenders may have gone to prison because the court assumed they couldn't earn enough money."[13]

The report concludes that while restitution as it is currently practiced can hardly be called a successful victim compensation scheme, there are valid arguments for its continued and expanded use. It does compensate some victims and it does benefit some offenders—if only by keeping them out of prison. And it could be expanded to benefit and compensate even more persons.

But there is an even simpler and possibly more important reason for promoting the expansion of restitution. Restitution appeals to many people on a very basic level: it satisfies the most fundamental notions of justice and fair play.

> "Restitution is not addressed to a rehabilitative or victim compensatory need; instead it answers a moral need; it reflects the way we feel people should treat other people. As such the evaluations of the effects of restitution may need to show only that it is no worse than other rehabilitative alternatives and that it does compensate some victims. Any effects beyond these are serendipitous because the *primary* goal of restitution is the elimination of the contradictions between our systems of morality and our Criminal Justice System."[14]

1. *Suggested strategy.* The use of restitution should be expanded and equalized by its extension to offenders who do not meet conventional selection criteria. Some ways of expanding and equalizing the use of restitution include partial restitution, special services and assistance to indigent offenders (such as job placement aid to enable payment of restitution), and "in-kind" community service as a substitute for cash payments.

Monitoring the payment of restitution, and the added workload created by those who fail to comply with the court order may be costly and somewhat complicated, but where such programs are feasible restitution offers an attractive alternative sentence for many less serious offenders.

2. *Examples of successful practice.*

Restitution House. While restitution programs are widespread and of long standing, few have utilized a live-in component in their operation. An exception, and probably one of the country's best known programs, is operated by the Minnesota Department of Corrections. Located in Minneapolis, Restitution House was established as a program for parolees from the Minnesota prison system. The Restitution House concept is unusual in that it attempts to encourage prison inmates to volunteer for placement in the house and for payment of restitution to victims as a condition of early release from prison. It thus requires the participation and agreement of the paroling authority.

The program, based in the central-city YMCA, is similar to other work-release programs except that all participants are required to make some form of restitution. Its earlier promising performance currently is threatened by a dwindling population—a result of the reluctance of a new parole board to approve a sufficient number of cases to maintain the population (capacity 40) at a reasonable and cost-efficient level. At the time of the site visit staff managers were attempting to induce Hennepin County courts to use the facility for the placement of selected probationers.

Earlier program managers, enthused with the apparent success of the operation, brought into being the first national conference on restitution.[15] Subsequently, other states (e.g., Louisiana and Kentucky) reportedly have developed similar programs. The statistical information reflecting the program's effectiveness in collecting restitution, retaining participants for the stipulated period, and reducing recidivism, were not particularly encouraging. It is hoped that the inclusion of probationers might improve this performance picture.

H. Field Supervision: Variations on a Theme

While the investigations and reports that probation and parole officers prepare for courts, parole boards, and institutions constitute an important part of their responsibility, it is in the performance of their field supervision function that community corrections receives its critical test. If field officers are to have any significant impact on their clients' avoidance of further law violations, it must come from the field supervision activity.

Considering the importance of the field supervision function, it is surprising that so few real innovations have appeared on the scene, or at least that so few have had a major impact on the community corrections field. One notable exception has been the use of paraprofessionals and volunteers. Others are team supervision and various efforts to reduce the length of supervision while shifting its emphasis from surveillance to more practical assistance.

1. *Team supervision.* In most probation and parole agencies, cases under field supervision typically

are subdivided on a geographic basis and distributed more or less evenly across all available staff. Larger urban probation agencies normally separate the field service function from the investigative one; small agencies, especially those serving large geographic areas, often assign both functions to the same staff members. Whether investigative and service functions should be separated or combined has long been debated and is still unresolved, but the field officer normally is viewed as a generalist—social worker, policeman, job or housing locator, poor-man's psychiatrist, and big brother or father figure. As many observers have noted, officers tend to resolve this dilemma individually, each emphasizing those roles he most enjoys or in which he is most proficient.

Whatever their position on separation of the investigative function, many agencies provide for some sort of specialization, usually around the needs of particular types of case (e.g., alcoholics, drug abusers, or sex cases). Reports received from around the country also reflect an increase in the use of staff who specialize in job finding or resource development. This is the caseload model of work organization. It is the normal mode for those operations committed to the so-called "medical model," by which is meant that casework style which sees as its mission the correction of personal, emotional, or other deficiencies of the client. Even among organizations which disavow allegiance to the medical model, many still depend largely on individual caseloads and separate geographic areas as the dominant way of dividing up the workload.

But change is occurring. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals observed that the caseload concept is being modified in some departments through the introduction of team supervision. The Commission report described team supervision as follows:

> "A group of parole officers, sometimes augmented with volunteers and paraprofessionals, takes collective responsibility for a parolee group as large as their combined caseloads. The group's resources are used differentially, depending upon individual case needs. Decisions are group decisions and generally involve parolees, including the parolees affected by the decisions. Tasks are assigned by group assessment of workers' skills and parolees' objectives."[16]

Commentary by the Commission notes that differentiating work activities permits staff assignments to be organized around a workload rather than a caseload. Tasks directed toward achieving specific objectives can be identified and assigned to staff to be carried out in a specified time. Adopting a strategy from modern organizational theory, teams of individuals from different disciplines or with different skills may be assembled for a given task or project and disbanded when the project is completed.[17]

Team supervision in probation and parole is found in a variety of forms. Often the basic caseload assignment is maintained and team members collaborate in case review and decision-making, perhaps incorporating some small degree of specialization within the team, such as in job development or the handling of drug cases. Team members acquire at least some knowledge of the entire caseload and so can deal with a client who needs assistance in the absence of his regularly assigned officer. Experiments with reduced caseloads are especially likely to use this type of team operation. One possible form of team organization might be to delegate the violation investigation and report function to a "revocation specialist," thereby avoiding the conflict between the roles of social worker and policeman.

2. *Supervision for how long?* In recent years, both probation and parole have been subject to considerable criticism. Some critics argue that community supervision provides little protection to the public, while others contend that it represents an unproductive intrusion on the liberties of the offender, especially in the case of parolees who have already "paid their debt" in prison. Such criticism, directed more at parole than probation, draw attention to the issue of the appropriate length of supervision. While the maximum period of control generally is set by court order (within statutory limits) in the case of probationers and by the sentence or term in the case of parolees, most jurisdictions provide for earlier discharge upon the recommendation of field staff.

Length of time in the probation or parole status, of course, is a prinicpal determinant of cost to the public, or, equally significant, of the kind and quality of service to be provided within the constraints of available resources. Delimitation of the time factor may permit the provision of service to more persons and/or the provision of better quality or higher levels of service.

Experiments with shorter periods of parole supervision, similar in some ways to earlier experiments with varying degrees of probation supervision, are at least partly a reflection of the interest in maximizing the cost-effectiveness of correctional programs. Some research has indicated that certain offenders do as well or better when exposed to less official

intervention—shorter periods and fewer contacts or services. If these individuals can be given only minimal supervision and/or released after a relatively short sentence has been successfully served, scarce correctional resources can be conserved for use with more serious offenders and others who require them.

3. *Suggested strategy.* Team supervision as a form of work organization should be carefully considered by larger, urban agencies or any other department where the caseload is concentrated within a limited geographical area. Team supervision makes feasible the efficiencies of specialization where the worker with special talents or interests in job-finding, resource development, counseling of drug addicts or alcoholics, or other areas can put his special abilities to better use.

The team decision process, preferably with the offender involved, also may assure greater objectivity and consistency from case to case. There is less likelihood of an individual officer's bias, whether protective or punitive, becoming critical in case disposition. The case analysis and case plan review typically increases the visibility of the officer's work before his peers, providing further incentive to make the optimal effort. Some comfort also may be gained by sharing the case decision, with a consequent reduction of emotional strain upon individual staff members. However, it also may reduce individual accountability for decision-making.

Use of a "revocation specialist", who acts, in effect, as prosecutor for a staff unit, is an interesting concept worthy of further experimentation. This arrangement should help to ease the conflict between the officer's helping and policing roles; it should make for greater consistency of decisions from case to case; and it may add to operating efficiency by the assignment of staff members with particular skills in investigation and report writing.*

Further experimentation with shorter periods of field supervision also appears promising. Intensive efforts to provide concrete, practical types of assistance (including housing, job placement or training, and financial support) during the first few months of the supervision period may, in many cases, be followed by sharply reduced contacts with the offender if he appears to be adapting well and staying out of trouble. The quality and efficacy of supervision, not its amount or length, appears most likely to affect recidivism rates. If and when the practical needs of the offender have been met, the agency's capability for assistance has been exhausted, or the offender is no longer accepting or using the agency's resources, consideration should be given to termination of the case. The serious nature of some offense patterns, however, may make necessary the continuation of supervision in some cases, even though it seems clearly unproductive.

4. *Examples of successful practice.*

a. *Team supervision.* The Municipal Probation Services Department in Seattle, Washington, has eschewed the notion of individual caseloads entirely. In this department those staff members who handle the release on recognizance function, deferred prosecution, and presentence reports are members of the supervision team. They participate in case needs analysis and the identification of appropriate community resources to meet defined needs of individuals in their misdemeanant caseload. Staff teams see their mission almost exclusively in terms of needs identification and resource development. There is some specialization for certain types of cases or for the development and maintenance of certain resources. But team members are responsible for a common caseload, jointly complete a periodic review of client progress, and decide in common whether and which additional resources should be brought to bear. The strategy depends solely on the use of existing community resources. The agency sees itself as a service broker, insofar as the provision of supervision services is concerned. The surveillance function has all but disappeared from this role definition.

Some agencies identify themselves as being in the "service brokerage" business, regardless of how their caseloads are organized (e.g., Oregon Probation and Parole Service; Washington Adult Probation and Parole Service; Fresno County, California, Adult Probation Department; Connecticut Department of Corrections, among others). The strategy which epitomizes the development and use of both service brokerage and the team approach to staff deployment is that currently being developed by the Corrections Unit of the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education, generally known as the Community Resources Management Team (CRMT). This rapidly expanding program is discussed in greater detail in Chapter III.

b. *Parole time limitation and reduced supervision.* In 1974 the California Department of Corrections Research Division published the results of a study which compared the performance of a group of parolees who were discharged after one year on parole with others of similar characteristics who had been supervised for two or more years. Early discharge was effected only for those parolees who

*See Chapters III and V for examples of the successful use of team supervision.

had remained free of arrests by police or parole officer for the first year. The long-term follow-up of recidivism on parole indicated that early discharges were guilty of fewer law violations than were a matched group who were continued on parole for two or more years. The researchers point out that if all subjects who had performed well for the first year were rewarded with a discharge, sums totalling in the millions would be available for diversion to other services.

The California Adult Parole Service is now moving to test the usefulness of "summary parole," which essentially amounts to parole without supervision or surveillance. The strategy will exclude over half of all parolees because of offense seriousness or length of prior record, and will place the residual group on summary parole in several test locations. Those on summary parole will be advised by their officers in the initial interview that they will receive no visits, services, or surveillance from the parole agent unless they specifically request assistance or unless they are arrested by police. The project will compare the performance of this randomly selected group with a matched group receiving the standard level of parole service and supervision.

The California Legislature recently acted to replace its indeterminate sentence law with one requiring determinate sentences by the court. The same law limits the parole period to one year. As the new law becomes fully operational, the parole board function becomes increasingly superfluous. Undoubtedly, the experiment with summary parole will affect the future of community corrections, at least with respect to its post-prison services. The outcome is anxiously awaited.

I. Summary

While the field of community corrections as a whole has not changed radically during the past ten years, a number of new developments are evident. There has been a clear trend toward the expanded use of alternatives to incarceration—citation, promise-to-appear, and release on recognizance in lieu of jail and the use of residential half-way houses instead of imprisonment. In these developments is expressed a concern for reducing system costs as well as for minimizing the negative impact of criminal justice processing on the individual.

Related developments which also tend to reduce system costs, maximize normalcy for the offender, and take advantage of community resources include deferred prosecution and other diversion strategies, graduated work or education release, and modifications of confinement such as weekend incarceration. In some of these programs voluntary participation of the offender is stressed.

The use of volunteers and paraprofessionals can help to reduce costs, while strengthening the linkages between corrections and the community it serves. Increasing reliance on non-correctional resources and closer ties with the community also are seen in the growth of the concepts of service brokerage and advocacy as proper functions of corrections agencies. The expanded use of restitution and community service orders reflect an awareness of the continuing relationship between the offender and his community.

The appearance of team supervision and the increasing attention to classification of offenders and their differential management respond to the need for strategies to increase efficiency and effectiveness in the face of continually growing workloads. Other experiments are being undertaken, but the developments described here are sufficiently widespread to qualify as trends and appear to have demonstrated promise for community corrections.

REFERENCES AND NOTES—CHAPTER II

1. National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, *Corrections*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.
2. American Justice Institute, Alternatives to Jail Incarceration Project, *Instead of Jail: Pre- and Post-Trial Alternatives to Jail Incarceration*, Sacramento, California, 1976.
3. This material is summarized from a current brochure published by the Hennepin County Pretrial Diversion agency. See also: Joe Hudson, *et al.*, "Diversion Programming in Criminal Justice: The Case of Minnesota," *Federal Probation*, Vol. 34 (March), 1975.
4. Wisconsin Health and Social Services Department, *Project Report No. 1, Case Classification/Staff Deployment Project*, Bureau of Probation and Parole, Division of Corrections, December, 1975, pp. 10–11.
5. An in-depth study which documents the many hazards faced by the newly released person and illustrates the ineffectiveness of cumbersome bureaucratic procedures is offered by Elliot Studt, *Surveillance and Service in Parole*, Los Angeles, University of California, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 1972.
6. This material was drawn from a Parole Board publication: Massachusetts Parole Board, *Parole Impact Program, Final Report, September, 1973, through March, 1975*, Boston, Massachusetts, 1975.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Readers who are interested in more detailed information on the organization and operation of half-way houses should look for LEAA's *Program Models* on this subject, now in preparation by Eric Carlson.

9. Readers are urged to consult the recent LEAA prescriptive package entitled "Para-legals, a Resource for Public Defenders and Correctional Services," by John Hollister Stein.
10. *The Volunteer Probation Counselor Program, Lincoln, Nebraska*, Washington, D.C., National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, p. 15.
11. This material was drawn from: *Only Ex-Offenders Need Apply: The Ohio Parole Officer Aide Program*, Washington, D.C., National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, p. 16.
12. Steven L. Chesney, "The Assessment of Restitution in the Minnesota Probation Services," In: Joe Hudson (ed.), *Restitution in Criminal Justice*, St. Paul, Minnesota, Minnesota Department of Corrections, 1975.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Hudson, *op. cit. supra* note 12.
16. *Op. cit. supra* note 1.
17. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III. ORGANIZING THE COMMUNITY

One of the most significant articulations of correctional theory offered by the National Crime Commission was the notion that the primary mission of corrections is the offender's "reintegration" into the social and economic life of the community. Implicit in this concept is the thesis that the causes of crime are to be found as much in the pathologies of community life, and in the unequal access to opportunities, as in the moral or emotional deficiencies of the offender. Two correctional objectives follow from this thesis: first, to help the offender improve his social and work skills so that he can better meet his own legitimate needs in a complex technological society; and, second, to provide access to opportunities which will help to insure his assimilation into the community. An individual with a legitimate role and a stake in the social order also has some incentive to abide by the morals and the mores, the codes and the conventions of American society.

A corollary argument holds that use of the normal training, educational, and job placement resources of the community in effecting offender reintegration is preferable to the creation of special "correctional" resources for this purpose. Correctional programs tend to add to the stigma of the identified offender and induce his association with other law breakers, thereby reinforcing undesirable influences. Established community programs for job training and placement and personal or family counseling often function at a level of effectiveness that special correctional programs will be unable to match. And finally, existing programs do not have to be newly created or paid for by appropriating bodies which are generally reluctant to provide funds for correctional clientele.

A. Resource Brokerage and Program Accessibility

The reintegration philosophy implies that a major function of probation and parole should be the identification of existing community resources and the development of strategies for assuring their ready availability to the probationer and parolee. This activity, which has come to be called "resource brokerage," stands in contrast to more conventional casework in which the needed supports are provided by the field agent or his agency.

Unfortunately, college programs for case workers offer pitifully little training in "brokering"skills. Indeed, the promotional aspect of the activity sometimes is viewed as not quite "professional." However, the clinician's talents, so valued in conventional casework, are not those required for the broker-promoter. The result has been a general neglect of this important function in working toward the reintegration objective.

A major problem in the implementation of the brokerage strategy, as most correctional practitioners are aware, is the fact that many community resource managers do not welcome the offender as a program client. His criminal status and his suspiciousness born of fears of rejection, combined at times with marginal ability or motivation, do not make the offender a desirable prospect. Also, in most states the ethnic minorities are over-represented in correctional populations by three to five times their incidence in the general population; thus, to the handicap of the offender's stigma is added that of minority status.

These factors, which complicate reintegration, constitute the rationale for the probation and parole officer's assumption of the role of "advocate" for those entrusted to his care. The advocacy role is a sensitive and sometimes unpopular one in criminal justice circles and those who assume it must be prepared to make clear that it is the offender's reintegration, not his illegal conduct, which is advocated. Advocacy probably is a necessary ingredient of successful brokerage, since it implies the aggressive development and promotion of all community supports and opportunities for those offenders who are motivated to use them.

Resource development may be categorized into three different types or modes: individual worker solicitation, interagency coordination and agreement, and service purchase.

1. *Individual worker solicitation.* The traditional and still widely prevalent operating style is that in which the probation or parole officer, perhaps with the advice of his supervisor or an "old hand," works to identify and tap the resources of his or her baliwick. Access channels to existing employment, welfare, mental health, or vocational training agencies are learned and referrals are made by instructing the probationer or parolee by written note or by personal delivery of the probationer or parolee to the agency office. The help of public and private agencies may be supplemented by approaching private employers or other private resources. This mode is still valid and probably will continue to prevail in the large, thinly populated areas. Its effectiveness, however, is almost entirely dependent on the skill and knowledge of the individual officer who must identify and become acquainted with staff of many agencies, frequently in many different communities. Each reassignment of the correction worker necessitates his reacquaintance with resources and the people who control their availability. Team supervision, as in the Community Resource Management Team discussed later, has the advantage of assigning the resource development task to a specialist who may be more effective than the generalist.

2. *Interagency coordination and agreement.* The individual staff member's time can be substantially reduced and his effectiveness enhanced when agency administrators assume leadership in effecting interagency coordination and agreement. Referral procedures can be standardized and frequently a specialist can be found in the receiving agency who has a particular interest or skill in working with offenders. Agreements or understandings sometimes are translated into written contracts which spell out the separate responsibilities of the participating agencies. The agreements then can be widely distributed to staff to assure general knowledge of the procedures. Too often agreements reached between administrators are not properly disseminated or interpreted to line staff who must effect their implementation. Such agreements are most feasible when they involve understandings between agencies of the same level of government, i.e. state or county; or when they involve administrators of a single geographic area. The Community Advocacy Training session in Monterey County, noted later in this chapter, provides an excellent example of this kind of interagency coordination.

3. *Service purchase.* Perhaps the surest method of providing a needed service or resource is through service purchase agreements with administering agencies or individuals. This approach is most commonly used to buy services from the private sector. In Chapter II such an arrangement in Maryland to provide clinical services was noted and the P/PREP program discussed later in this chapter relies heavily on this option.

Agencies with broad jurisdictions probably should utilize all three modes, emphasizing certain modes or combinations as indicated by local circumstances. Leaving the entire responsibility to individual staff members probably is the least effective approach.

B. Developing Community Support

Obtaining the general political and fiscal support of the larger community and its spokesmen has not been an area in which correctional agencies have exelled. Some correctional staff appear to feel that the community rejection visited upon the offender extends as well to the agency and its staff and many administrators have chosen to keep a low profile, feeling that high visibility or publicity is generally synonymous with trouble. Public relations frequently is limited to an occasional speech to the PTA or service club. The organized public constituencies of mental health, mental retardation, education, and other fields have found little counterpart in corrections. As a result, in the political tug-of-war incidental to the competition for scarce tax dollars, corrections typically receives a low priority. And, compared to the organized lobbies that represent other public interests, the corrections perspective and voice tends to be given little attention in state and national legislative halls.

The long neglected task of building a correctional constituency is essential in order to generate public understanding of correctional issues and problems and the measures needed for their resolution, to obtain adequate political and fiscal support for correctional programs, and to assure the availability of social and economic opportunities for offenders and ex-offenders. Among the strategies for developing community support observed in the course of site visits were the following: (1) the planned use of the news media (e.g., as in Maine and in Connecticut's P/PREP program); (2) the activation of advisory committees and boards in numerous special programs (e.g., Minnesota's reform measures, including the careful use of a prestigious advisory group in the planning process); (3) the involvement of volunteers in correctional activities throughout the country; and (4) the extensive use of private agencies through contractual arrangements (best illustrated in the P/PREP strategy).

C. Examples of Effective Community Organization

Three programs which give high priority to the development of community support and the use of existing community resources are the Community Resources Management Team, the Neighborhood Probation Services of Minneapolis, and Connecticut's Private/Public Resources Expansion Project.

1. *The community resources management team.* Perhaps the best example of the use of brokerage and advocacy is provided by the Corrections Program of the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education (WICHE). This ambitious effort, funded by a special LEAA grant, is headquartered in Boulder, Colorado. Test programs were first instituted in ten different agencies in the western half of the country and an additional ten agencies have since been involved in the program.

The Community Resources Management Team (CRMT) concept represents a turning away from the medical model, a rejection of the conventional caseload as the preferred way of organizing an agency's work, and the optimal use of community resources to accomplish offender reintegration. The plan lays principal emphasis on the organization of staff into a team of specialists who jointly manage a common caseload and heavy use of brokerage and advocacy concepts.

Frank Dell-Apa, WICHE Correctional Program Manager and CRMT Project Director, and his associates, Tom Adams, James Jorgensen, and Herbert Sigurdson, have built their development strategy around a training program which instructs a team from each of the participating agencies in the concepts undergirding the program and in the methods for their implementation. To assure that the new program mode will receive the highly necessary support of agency supervisors and administrators, it is insisted that the teams represent a cross-section of the departments involved.

The CRMT strategy is based on the following assumptions:

> "1. Probation and parole services are in need of improved delivery system models.
> 2. Most offenders are not pathologically ill; therefore, the medical (casework) model is inappropriate.
> 3. Most probation and parole officers are not equipped by education and experience to provide professional casework counseling even if it is needed.
> 4. Existing probation/parole manpower is not likely to be expanded. Consequently, these people must come to view their roles in different and perhaps radically new terms if they are to deal with the increasing numbers of offenders under supervision.
> 5. Services needed by the offender to "make it" in society are available in the community social service network rather than in the criminal justice system.
> 6. Probation and parole staff must assume advocacy roles in negotiating appropriate community-based services for offenders. They must assume a community organization and resource development role for needed services that do not exist.
> 7. A team approach represents a powerful and viable alternative to the autonomous and isolated individual officer and "case" relationship."[1]

Teams from the ten agencies involved in the test programs were convened for a two-week training period during which they learned that whether the worker's self-image is that of control agent, advocate, or counselor, the CRMT worker will have to assume an additional role—that of manager of community services. This managerial role requires workers to view themselves as "community developers" with important relationships not only with their clients but with the principal social service institutions in the community.

> "This new view transforms the way workers assess their clients. The client is now a person whose future depends not only on how well he adjusts and adapts to the environment, but additionally, on how well he is linked to social institutions. The CRMT worker views his responsibility to change the community as being at least as important as changing the client. In so doing, a new balance is struck between the traditional role of counseling and controlling the client and community development."[2]

Upon completion of the training period, the teams return to their respective agencies to design and implement the kind of team operation that is appropriate to the agency and the community. The CRMT developers point out that application of the team concept may take a variety of forms: the team organized for Los Angeles might well be different

from one set up for Los Alamos, New Mexico. Four different team structures are offered as examples:

"Model A: The Basic Agency Team

A team is composed of a middle manager, no fewer than two line (field) staff, a clerical staff person, and a staff specialist.

Function: The combined caseload of these field staff is assigned to this team. The team has responsibility to serve all needs of the caseload. Decisions are made at team meetings and the middle manager leads the team. Tasks are determined through team consensus. The team has responsibility for a specific geographic area.

Note: The agency can assemble as many of these teams as it desires, depending upon the manpower. The teams are components of the parent agency.

"Model B: The Agency-Community Extended Team

A team is composed of a middle manager, no fewer than two line (field) staff, a trainee, one or more ex-offenders, a clerical staff person, with support from interested community social service agents from legal aid, welfare, employment security, mental health, minority group organizations, health, and education agencies. In addition, community persons such as successful ex-offenders and citizens' group leaders serve as resources to the team.

Function: The caseload is composed of a fixed number of clients, usually a cross-section of the target population, who have distinct needs for supervision and assistance. They may come largely from one geographical area, be designed as drug- and alcohol-related offenders, represent distinct minority groups, and fall within definite age groupings.

The team is analyzed to determine the skills of each member, and the workload is the determinant of who does what. The parent agency staff serve as brokers of the services and coordinators among the attached support specialists.

The team meets regularly to assess community resources and needs, as well as workload needs upon which the division of labor is based. The clients may be served by all members of the team or only one or any combination.

Note: This team model is dependent on actual cooperation between parent staff and those from support community agencies.

"Model C: The Specialist Resource Team

A team is composed of two or more line (field) staff who are supervised by a middle manager. Support community staff may be used where possible.

Function: The team has a specialized caseload; all those clients who are distinguishable by one central concern, perhaps drug addiction, violence-prone behavior, chronic unemployment, or serious family crises. The team works only with these persons. The team also marshals all resources within the community that provide services to such clients.

Note: This team maintains autonomy but relies on good community relations.

"Model D: The Total Department as a Community Resource Management Team

The team may encompass the entire field agency. A task analysis is made of the agency workload. Specific assignments are made to individual staff members depending upon their capabilities. Attached community agency staff are recruited to serve as support personnel to the entire parent agency, rather than to a specific team within the agency.

Function: The agency sets the team into operation after a careful task analysis based on the workload needs of the agency. Some staff will function as court and liaison specialists, others will prepare presentence or preparole reports, and others will supervise those who require supervision by court order or in the judgment of the agency. In some instances, a single staff person may have the assignment for a specific need area such as employment, legal aid services, health, or education. A team will have no caseload but will serve as community resources identifiers and develop advocacy plans to link these resources to all clients."[3]

How is it working? The WICHE staff have continued to monitor the original ten CRMT projects and to provide technical assistance and support. They report that, of the original ten programs, one of the most successful is based in the Monterey County Adult Probation Department at Salinas, California, which has been operational for over a year. As John Schellhaas, Assistant County Probation Officer and chief of the adult services program in

that county, enthusiastically commented: "It's the only way to go."

In the Monterey County program, a team of one supervisor, five probation officers, and two probation counselors (non-degreed paraprofessionals), supported by about eight volunteers, currently handles a combined felon-misdemeanant caseload of approximately 800 cases. The project includes approximately half the adult field supervision staff and the workload and is now being expanded to include the rest of the field supervision staff.

The program utilizes a "base-expectancy" procedure and a Probation Officer's Assessment of Problem Areas form to assist in determining the degree of risk and the extent and kind of assistance needed. These are combined to determine which of three levels of supervision intensity an offender will receive. Time allowances have been developed for each of the three classification levels, so some measure of workload is built into the classification scheme.

The investigating officer uses some of these instruments and, although not actually a team member, works closely with the team in developing the work plan for each case. As the initial needs assessment is completed, the case is presented to the team for a general staffing in which the client participates and provides his own assessment of assistance needed. One-third of the caseload is subject to a further progress staffing each month, at which time progress in meeting defined case objectives is evaluated and additional steps or strategy modifications are planned.

The initiation of the program included a Community Advocacy Training session, presented with the help of WICHE staff, to which representatives of the principal resource agencies (e.g., employment, training, mental health, vocational rehabilitation) were invited. An outgrowth of this early advocacy effort has been the development of a Job Finders Association and a detoxification center.

The team is divided into two activity specialties: one group addresses the area of employment, training, and academic and vocational rehabilitation, while the other deals with substance abuse, mental health, and counseling programs. Schellhaas reports a discernible improvement in the department's working relationships with community resource agencies, a general enthusiasm among staff for the approach, and an eagerness among other regular staff to convert to the CRMT strategy. He notes some evidence of improved program effectiveness in the increased number of cases being taken into court with a recommendation for early dismissal. Finally, he reports that the county judiciary and the Board of Supervisors are pleased with the operation to date. CRMT in Monterey County would appear to have passed its initial, if subjective, tests with flying colors.

2. *The Bakery: Minneapolis' Neighborhood Probation Services.* The distance between the county court house of Hennepin County and the "Model Cities" neighborhood of Minneapolis cannot be adequately measured by the number of city blocks that separate them, since the distance has social, economic, and cultural dimensions as well. It is the latter which blurs and muffles meaningful communication between the middle-class probation officer and the minority-group inhabitants of this high-crime, poverty neighborhood. That ghetto residents are "turned off" by downtown-style probation services led Gary Meitz, Hennepin County Probation Officer, to take the probation service to the neighborhood and to cast it in a mode more acceptable to clients who live there as well as to other residents of the community.

The "Bakery" is named for its location on the second floor of a building that once housed a commercial bakery. Beyond that title and the street number, no official insignia greets the visitor as he ascends the stairs to the distinctly non-official reception room, lounge, and offices in which the program is housed. The colorfully decorated and comfortably furnished meeting room welcomes the visitor with its homelike atmosphere. These County Probation quarters are shared with State Department of Corrections parole staff, in connecting offices.

A variety of organization and program elements differentiate this operation from the conventional probation office. The staff is a mix of 4 professional probation officers, 6 paraprofessionals recruited from the community who reflect its ethnic composition, and some 25 volunteers, many of whom are indigenous to the neighborhood. Heavy emphasis is placed on participative management. Case and program decisions are shared, typically the product of deliberations involving all staff, as well as the client when indicated. Program Director Meitz functions as a leader-trainer-coordinator, and as negotiator between this non-conventional operation and administrative staff downtown. With its involvement of indigenous paraprofessional and volunteer staff (many of whom are students) the program has taken on the coloration of the community in which it is embedded and appears to have effected a viable meld between the neighborhood and the official bureaucracy.

The success of this integrative effort is enhanced by the fact that the program focuses on the needs of the community and its residents while providing specific services to its clientele. For example, since obtaining a driver's license was found to be a problem for many community residents as well as program clients, a training program using volunteer tutors was established to coach those wishing to qualify for the driver's examination. When needed, the coaching includes tutoring in reading. An advocacy and counseling program for rape victims in the neighborhood also was in its start-up phase when the site visit was made.

Like the staff, the clientele is mixed. Referrals come from both the Municipal (misdemeanant) and District (felony) courts, and a substantial number are self-referred, walk-in residents of the area. Brokering of services—job placement and training, housing, legal assistance, and medical treatment—is a major program emphasis. Other counseling programs for drug abusers and sex offenders and an Alcoholics Anonymous program are offered on site. At the time of the site visit the probation caseload consisted of some 150 felons and 250 misdemeanants, while state parole staff were serving some 320 parolees and 85 probationers from their adjoining offices.

While no comparative outcome data were available, the fact that departmental administrators view the program as successful would seem implicit in the move, now underway, to replicate the experiment in a cross-town neighborhood in Minneapolis. The Bakery, initially funded with an LEAA project grant, will be supported with local monies.

The Bakery program represents a highly interesting effort to adapt the service delivery processes of a conventional governmental agency to the form and style of the community served. Additionally, the program garners support and credibility in its use of indigenous personnel, both as staff members and in volunteer roles, and gives clear evidence of its helping mission by assisting non-offenders along with official clients. In these ways, or perhaps because of them, it appears to be maintaining an unusually high level of effort and motivation among practitioners, clients, and neighborhood residents alike. Finally, its unconventionality reflects the tolerance and flexibility of departmental administrators who brought it into being and continue to support it.

The Bakery model seems especially appropriate for any ghetto area in which the correctional caseload is concentrated and the cultural and ethnic composition of the neighborhood and the lifestyle of its residents impede communication and interaction with conventional bureaucratic modes. It clearly places the service and the servants where the problems flourish and strikes a posture that should make for a more effective effort.

3. *Connecticut's Private/Public Resources Expansion Project P/PREP).* Connecticut is one of the few states in which the jails, typically identified as Community Correctional Centers, are operated by the State Corrections Department. In spite of this commendable consolidation of services, the adult probation function operates as a separate State agency. P/PREP, now in its fourth year, was created primarily to enhance the reintegration processes for misdemeanant offenders released from jails and for felons paroled from the State's prison facilities. Some of the services generated are now being made available to probationers as well. The program, initiated largely as a federally funded agency, currently is reducing LEAA contributions while it musters state monies and private support to assure its continued existence.

The objectives of P/PREP might be summarized as follows: (1) to transfer to private agencies (including both traditional agencies and less traditional ones such as those established by OEO in the 1960s) the major responsibility for providing supportive and reintegrative parole services, leaving parole staff free to concentrate on the monitoring-surveillance function; (2) to encourage fiscal and service contributions from communities and their agencies, thereby increasing overall resources for offender reintegration; (3) to utilize community organization activities to achieve a better understanding and acceptance of the offender within communities, and to support that mission with a planned media campaign of public education; and (4) to forge a political constituency which will help to sustain adequate funding for present and projected correctional programs, and generate support for more general correctional reform, statutory and otherwise.

a. *P/PREP Organization.* P/PREP is housed within the Field Services Division of the Department and is directed jointly by the Director of Rehabilitation Services and the Director of Parole, thereby assuring coordination with traditional parole functions. An Assistant Director administers the day-to-day activities and is responsible for the public education program. Regional Coordinators located in the three metropolitan areas of the state develop and service the contractual arrangements set up for service delivery and monitor their implementation. Their efforts are supported by a group of "indigenous counselors" who are based within the six correctional centers and provide information and

referral services to releasees, while parole officers provide similar services for those paroled from prison. A group of 20 Vista Volunteers, some of whom are assigned to contracting agencies, provide a variety of supportive staff services. All other services are provided by the contracting agencies and/or citizen volunteers.

The service delivery aspects of the program are accomplished through a series of contracts. In 1975–76, 18 contracts totalling $316,524 varied in amount from $3600 (to the New Haven Halfway House) to $75,000 (to the Connecticut Prison Association for a statewide legal aid program for prisoners and ex-inmates). Additionally, some $30,000 was allocated for approximately 15 VISTA workers through a contract with ACTION of Washington, D.C. Departmental spokesmen report that for every two dollars of state and federal funds invested the contracting agencies are contributing another dollar in cash or in kind.

The roster of contracting agencies for 1975–76 reflects the wide variety of programs throughout the State associated with the P/PREP effort. A few of the contracts call for specific and limited services, such as one-to-one assignment of volunteers, but more typically the contractor provides a range of employment, training, counseling, and advocacy services. For example, Project MORE (Model Offender Reintergration Experience), operated by the Hill Neighborhood Corporation, establishes planning contacts with the offender while he is incarcerated, provides assistance to the family during this period, and follows with referral to employment, education, training, welfare, alcohol and drug treatment, and other community services. Project staff direct much of their attention to employment development.

Project MORE operates in a high-crime ghetto neighborhood. Its clientele is estimated to be 75 per cent black, with staff representing a similar ethnic mix. Many staff members are indigenous to the community; some are ex-offenders. The Hill Neighborhood Corporation assigns one-third of its staff of 15 to Project MORE and a VISTA volunteer is assigned by the Department of Corrections. Other volunteers are utilized. They work with the families of persons arrested and talk with local employers in an effort to help clients keep their jobs.

Project MORE reaches out to the community, which in turn uses the project as a resource. A substantial portion of project funds are community-generated. The program directors report that the $22,000 received from P/PREP has been supplemented by some $18,000 from other sources. The project is formulating ambitious plans for the establishment of a multi-service center for offenders which is expected to include housing and self-sustaining workshops.

A completely different kind of program initiated by P/PREP is the Prison Store, a non-profit, church-sponsored retail outlet for arts and crafts made by clients of the Connecticut correctional system. The store, which is staffed entirely by volunteers, is located in a suburban shopping mall in Bloomfield. In 1975, its first year of operation, the Prison Store sold more than 1,000 items, representing $16,500 returned in full to 110 men and women in six correctional facilities. The store also distributes information on corrections to those who visit the premises.

b. *Winning friends and influencing people.* A principal objective of the P/PREP strategy is to inform the public about the nature and needs of correctional programs and to encourage more tolerant attitudes toward the ex-offender. For the purposes of public education, P/PREP has produced two hour-long television specials, a 15-minute film, four 30-second TV spots and a bilingual booklet to assist ex-offenders in regaining their civil rights. Both specials were aired several times on Connecticut public television. One of them, The Criminal Justice Test (modeled after the Driver's Test of some years ago) was accepted for nationwide distribution by the Educational Television Network and has been incorporated into the National Public Television Film Library series. The four 30-second public service announcements have been shown on leading commercial TV stations throughout Connecticut, as well as in New York City and Springfield, Massachusetts. The 15-minute film is used by departmental spokesmen in appearances in Connecticut and other states. More than 8,000 copies of the English/Spanish booklet have been distributed.

P/PREP also maintains relationships with newspapers, magazines, and wire services, supplying them with news and feature material as appropriate. The news media in general have recognized P/PREP as a progressive innovation and have given it favorable exposure whenever possible.

In 1975–76 P/PREP launched a statewide Information for Justice campaign to increase public awareness of the criminal justice system. The goal of the campaign was to reach members of every religious congregation throughout the State during Criminal Justice Week, May 10–15, 1976. Four regional conferences were held in March-April 1976 during which information was provided to pastors for dissemination from their pulpits. Special events and full media exposure were planned to achieve the widest possi-

ble distribution of the Information for Justice message. These efforts were expected to result in a well-informed, active, public constituency to support reforms in the criminal justice system.[4]

Generally, as such public education campaigns obtain the support of contracting agencies and their professional staff, as well as hundreds of citizen volunteers, a substantial and influential constituency begins to emerge. In this case, the active intervention of the constituency with legislative members and committees reportedly has been a significant factor in the recent legislative decision to supplant declining federal monies with a larger State budget appropriation.

c. *P/PREP evaluation.* The Connecticut Planning Committee on Criminal Justice Administration proposed to the national offices of LEAA that P/PREP be designated an "exemplary project." In connection with this, the program was subjected to professional evaluation in some depth. The summary statement on the 70-page evaluation report concluded that P/PREP appears to be effecting significant system changes. Correction officials interviewed by the evaluators believed that significant changes have occurred or are likely to occur in the role of the Corrections Department within the criminal justice system. In line with the recommendations of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, P/PREP was found to have stimulated change in the following ways:

> "Changes in public attitudes and perceptions regarding offenders by removing the criminal label previously worn by ex-offenders.
>
> Building of a political base within the private sector which can influence legislation affecting offenders and ex-offenders.
>
> Establishing a network of private community services for ex-offenders which utilizes local resources and personnel who are intimately sensitive to the frustrations and problems faced by the accused, offenders, and ex-offenders.
>
> Diminishing bureaucratic responsibility for the rehabilitation of offenders and their reintegration in the community, as evidenced by plans to limit the role of the parole division to enforcement of parole conditions and the initiation of contract services by the probation department."[5]

The report also noted that the decentralized structure of P/PREP permits considerable flexibility in meeting offender needs and in adapting to local community differences because the program is not constrained by centrally defined standard operating procedures and because local project administrators have substantial autonomy. The evaluators report that agency staffs appear to be particularly well-suited to the tasks they face:

> "The decentralization and public/private nature of P/PREP permit employment of staff with particularly relevant skills and backgrounds, that would not be available in a totally public (civil service) system. In particular, ex-offenders, community activists, part-time volunteers, and other groups which are particularly motivated and knowledgeable about corrections and community problems, are well represented in P/PREP. Furthermore, P/PREP project staffs appear to match clientele of ethnic variables fairly well, presumably precluding problems of communication and credibility."[6]

Channels of communication between P/PREP agencies and the Department of Correction and among P/PREP agencies were found to be strong.

> "As it presently operates, P/PREP exhibits good, close, personal working relationships between central staff of the Department of Correction and the contract agencies. This is accomplished principally by three regional coordinators who maintain bi-weekly personal contact on the average with each project.
>
> Communications among P/PREP projects throughout the state takes place in the form of transfers of offenders from correctional centers and institutions to local P/PREP project areas, and in terms of discussions regarding overall program and general correctional issues. The quarterly meetings of all P/PREP officials facilitate the working relationships among P/PREP participants."[7]

The major weakness of P/PREP reportedly is its inability to provide concrete evidence of the efficacy of its service delivery component, a problem which is at least partly a result of a deliberate avoidance of formalized management systems. Management control of P/PREP currently relies heavily on personal contacts rather than formal reporting. Plans to correct identified problems are being implemented. Already, however, the project holds considerable appeal for both correctional officials and the general

public and a political base for community corrections clearly has been established.

D. Summary

The objective of offender reintegration implies a need for increased community participation in and support for the correctional enterprise. In response to this need, some probation and parole agencies have reoriented their efforts toward resource development or "brokerage" and offender advocacy. The elements of the stance adopted by these agencies have included taking the correctional service into those areas where most offenders live, attempting to separate punishment or surveillance from the helping function, developing a supportive constituency through public education campaigns and involvement of citizens as volunteers, and establishing a network of private community services to aid offenders and ex-offenders without imposing the stigma generally associated with participation in correctional programs.

Resource brokerage strategies are designed not only to facilitate the reintegration objective by reducing the isolation of the offender from his community, but also to greatly expand the resources available to corrections by taking advantage of existing public and private services in the community.

REFERENCES AND NOTES—CHAPTER III

1. Frank Dell'Apa, Community Resource Management Team: An Innovation in Restructuring Probation and Parole, 1975.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. This material was drawn from a departmental report.
5. ABT Associates, Inc., Private/Public Resources Expansion Project Exemplary Project Validating Report, Cambridge, Mass., July 1975.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV. COMPONENTS OF SUCCESSFUL ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

A number of issues about how the community corrections field should be organized and managed have been debated for years and certainly could not be considered resolved today. Many of these questions, and the positions people take on them seem to be related to concerns about "turf" or bureaucratic power and survival. Should probation be administered by the courts or by the executive branch? Should parole be administered by the boards which make release decisions or by a separate administrative authority? Should the jails be removed from the organizational territory of sheriffs and brought within the domain of community corrections? Should the focus of authority and responsibility be at the state or the local level?

No final solutions to these chronic questions can be offered here. Mary Parker Follett, who many years ago wrote with deceptive simplicity about complex administrative dilemmas, spoke of "the law of the situation."[1] She believed that the "right" answers to problems in which there are competing interests cannot be imposed by outsiders, but must be derived from the circumstances and the people directly involved.

A textbook coverage of this large and complex area thus is not intended. Instead, an effort has been made to present general guidelines or rules of thumb to test what might best serve the public interest in particular situations. These guidelines have been drawn from the findings and recommendations of national study commissions and direct observation of organizational and administrative practices in the community corrections field.

National commission recommendations. Several national commission reports provide a basis for considering promising techniques in the organization and management of probation and parole. These include various reports of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice,[2] the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training,[3] and the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.[4] These study commissions addressed, among many other issues, the problems of fragmentation and duplication of correctional services, the gaps and cross-purposes generated by the plethora of agencies and governments responsible for correctional functions, and the often conflicting needs for both decentralized operations and central control.

While the reports of these commissions should be read in full by anyone interested in the current state of knowledge and practice in community corrections, a number of commission standards and recommendations particularly pertinent to the questions of organization and management are presented in Appendix A for the convenience of the reader. It might also be pointed out that the themes developed in this chapter are generally consistent with those of the national commissions.

The need for new management styles and organizational structures has been stressed by all of the commissions established to study the corrections field. The traditional bureaucratic approach, it seems clear, will not suffice in the volatile and changing context of the 1970's. Effective delivery of community corrections services may require probation and parole agencies to modify some of their basic assumptions, to re-examine their objectives and means of achieving them, and to adopt new modes of operation which are more consistent with modern management theory and practice.

Field study findings. Field site visits undertaken for this study examined the ways in which probation and parole agencies are organized and operated and how they respond to problems such as those highlighted by the various national commission reports. Efforts were made to identify the characteristics of management and structure associated with particularly successful programs, with an emphasis on innovative and imaginative approaches. "Success" was defined not in terms of statistics on recidivism of program clients, but more flexibly in terms of the general qualities of strength, credibility, and integrity of the agency's operations and its demonstrated capability for setting and meeting objectives.

A major problem facing corrections today—and

particularly probation and parole—is the lack of a clearly defined "mission" or mandate and, with this, the absence of broad public support for its goals and activities. It was felt that, under such circumstances, the traditional approach to program evaluation—statistical analyses of outcome data—may be less useful than the examination of more basic qualities of successful agency organization and management. While the results of this investigation are tentative and somewhat impressionistic, they may help in the effort to establish a new foundation for effective delivery of community correctional services.

The programs from which examples of promising strategies have been drawn were those which appeared to have overcome the malaise which often afflicts entrenched bureaucratic systems. They had thought systematically about both ends and means and seemed to be dealing constructively with offenders and cooperatively with their constituencies. Staff were motivated and committed to their jobs. The work was getting done, but it was not merely a case of "business as usual." These agencies seemed to be concerned with more than their own organizational survival. They were attempting, with some success, to keep up with changing times and circumstances and were moving beyond the typical bureaucratic survival modes to adopt new methods, new attitudes, and new approaches to problem-solving. The examples they set may represent the core of a new direction for community corrections.

Field site investigations of probation and parole agencies throughout the nation suggested that three general aspects of organization and management are critical to the successful operation of community corrections programs: the internal structure of the agency, the quality of its leadership, and the extent and nature of its relationships with the community. The agencies and programs subjected to site visits varied in the degree to which they were characterized by dynamic and strong leadership, an internal structure which facilitates achievement of objectives, and a network of productive relationships with the public and private agencies and groups. Examples of success in each of these areas were derived from first-hand observations of program operation, interviews with staff and others, and examination of written materials, reports, and agency brochures.

A. Leadership

Two types of leadership—managerial and executive—appear to be needed for the successful operation of any organization. While no agency can achieve its full potential without value-based executive leadership, the administrator who supplies it could not long survive without strong managerial backup. The organizations described in Chapter III seemed to reflect a capacity for executive as well as managerial leadership, a distinction which is highlighted in Table 2.

Since leadership qualities are only partially revealed by written materials, conclusions regarding successful leadership were drawn primarily from observations made during site visits. Project staff were able, to a limited extent, to observe the behavior of especially effective probation and parole administrators and to obtain the views of persons both within and outside their organizations concerning the reasons for their success. Effective executive leaders played two primary roles: (1) they took major responsibility for defining and communicating agency objectives and (2) they worked to achieve the commitment of a diversity of individuals and groups in meeting agency objectives.

1. *Defining the agency mission.* Site visits suggested that a critical leadership role of executive management is that of articulating the goals and values of the agency. An excellent example of this was found in the Youthful Offender Division of the State of South Carolina. In a lengthy interview, the director of that agency volunteered concrete, understandable positions concerning the functions served

TABLE 2. *Managerial and Executive Roles*

Manager	Executive
Task oriented	Goal oriented
Industrious	Thoughtful
Action oriented	Results oriented
Efficient	Effective
Short term planner	Long term planner
Production oriented	Policy oriented
Program oriented	Mission oriented
Recruits for jobs	Attracts talent
Works in present	Works in future
Manages dollars	Manages resources
Observes operations	Studies environment
Agency perspective	National perspective
Product oriented	Process oriented
Consulted	Consults
Recommends	Decides
Provides staff work	Utilizes staff work
Commands	Directs
Champions	Mediates
Looks in	Looks out
Represents function, unit	Represents agency
Sees parts	Sees whole
Operates in internal politics	Operates in internal and external politics
Thinks in terms of analysis	Thinks in terms of synthesis
Data oriented	Concept oriented

by his organization. He was firm and explicit regarding even those issues which are highly controversial. His premise seemed to be that an agency working in this area must communicate its operating philosophy to all concerned. Unless this is done, not only staff and the offenders they supervise but also important public constituencies will be confused and will work at cross-purposes.

The role of parole officers in his agency was clearly defined: their primary task was to help the parolee establish contact with the community resources he needed. For this reason officers were not allowed to carry guns or badges, indicating that their helping role was most important (the law enforcement function was performed by police when required). The director of this agency believed that parole supervision should avoid unnecessarily bureaucratic processes and that officers should be flexible and creative in finding ways to aid offenders in community reintegration. To this end he maintained that rules and conditions for the parolee should be as close as possible to those which must be observed by other members of the community. This administrator also stressed that his division had control over the offender from the time of institutional commitment until discharge from parole, which he considered an ideal basis for a coherent program since all of the critical decisions were made within the agency.

This case provides an example of top management operating a medium-sized agency with considerable autonomy and according to an explicit, well-communicated set of ideas concerning the reasons for crime and the most appropriate ways of responding to it. The top administrator, who conceived his role largely as one of articulating these values and insuring that they were reflected in day-to-day agency operations, had put his philosophy in writing and seized on every opportunity to discuss it and receive feedback from those whose support was required for successful implementation.

It is entirely possible, of course, for a clearly articulated mission to remain rhetorical and never be translated into operating policies and procedures. Staff at lower levels of the agency hierarchy were interviewed to determine whether the values and goals stated by the director had found their way into the daily activities of the agency. While no thorough documentation was obtained, it seemed that the transition from theory to practice had in fact taken place. Indeed, some interesting translations of abstract theory into down-to-earth operating practices were observed.

While the key role of the top administrator was concerned with defining and communicating the agency mission, those immediately below him were intensely and inventively concerned with making the philosophy work. Here the emphasis was on simplicity, common sense, high commitment, and good management. There was an obvious concern for insuring that parole officers and other staff members understood the philosophy of the agency and various two-way communication devices were used to bring this about. Instructions for officers were written in clear and simple language. Orientation sessions were held to make sure that they understood what was expected of them in their contacts with parolees. Follow-up was designed to determine if officers were conscientiously and successfully carrying out the mandates of the agency. There seemed to be a clear division of labor: articulation of philosophy at the top and its implementation below—and good communication between the two levels. An illustration of the specificity which characterized these communications is contained in a memorandum (Appendix A) which details the services offered youthful offenders from time of commitment until after release from parole.

While this particular agency benefited from a clear understanding of its mission, perusal of a large number of mission-type statements provided a somewhat depressing picture of what is ordinary and commonplace in this area. Less successful programs appeared to suffer from fuzzy or inconsistent values, or simply operated without long-range goals and purposes. Too common were lengthy and uninteresting statements, heavy with bureaucratic jargon, general and obtuse in the meanings they conveyed—even to the most determined reader. Often a statement of goals actually dealt with means, e.g., "to intervene in the lives of offenders helpfully yet firmly." And there was often a tendency to hedge bets, to please (or at least avoid offending) readers from opposing philosophic camps. The problem with most statement of values and goals seemed to be that while they did not say much, they managed to say it in an obscure and uninteresting way.

Some programs, however, seemed to have generated explicit doctrines by thoughtful reflection on operating experience. A striking example of this was "Project Upstream," a community prevention and treatment experiment in Pomona, California, under the auspices of a private agency, Boys' Republic. The set of goals and explanatory concepts generated at the inception of this project were increasingly sharpened and operationalized as the work with disturbed and aggressive teenagers progressed. Apparently, the presence of an independent research-

evaluator was most useful in providing objective feedback on what was taking place.[6] As the experiment neared completion in late 1976 and the community moved to continue and finance its activities, it was clear that quite specific operating guidelines had emerged in such areas as obtaining an optimal mix of structure and choice for the youngsters; establishing criteria for "letting go" of cases whose problems were beyond the capacity of project staff; and developing linkages with schools, police, and other community groups and resources.[7]

While a number of the programs and projects reviewed had developed values and goals statements to guide their activities, few of the agencies visited were able to produce an overall statement of the mission of their organization. A notable exception was the Minnesota Department of Corrections which had done an impressive job in this difficult but essential area. In its Mission Statement (reproduced in large part in Appendix A), the role of the Department, its purposes, and the means by which it attempts to achieve those purposes are outlined clearly and explicitly. This document states the assumptions of the Department regarding the purposes of corrections, describes the role of social conditions in generating crime, and outlines the rights of offenders. The beliefs underlying the development and use of community programs and institutions, and the special consideration accorded juveniles within the correctional system, are detailed. And the commitment of the Department to centralizing its management and administrative responsibilities and developing and enforcing standards for local services is spelled out.

The formulation and communication of agency mission appears to present considerable difficulty for probation and parole managers, perhaps largely because of the continuing public ambivalence about crime and criminals. The most successful resolutions of this problem seem to lie in goal orientations which avoid unrealistic expectations and over-commitment to singular theories. Successful statements seem to occupy a middle ground in which the agency, in effect, says: "We are not sure what is optimal in this complex area, but the following assumptions and operating strategies make the best possible sense at this stage of human knowledge." Their assumptions and strategies then are stated in a simple and straight-forward manner.

Such patterns were observed in several agencies in which administrators had made a conscious effort to define their goals and translate them into action. The short case studies presented in Chapter V reveal this element of articulating and implementing values and goals. This might be regarded as the *sine qua non* of significant change in the field of community corrections. A national study of correctional administrators conducted for the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training developed a profile of the "change-capable" administrator. In addition to a stance which permits attention to the outside world as well as the internal workings of his own system, the successful administrator was characterized by a quality called "the conceptualizing mind." This capacity "seemed to lie in his having a durable conception of his organization, its mission, and its long-range goals." It appeared "as a kind of intellectual frame of reference which enabled the administrator to look at what was going on in the force field around him, to 'make sense' of it, and thus to formulate premises for action in meeting particular problems."[9]

The central role of value-based leadership in any organization is highlighted in a recent paper by Chester A. Newland, former Director of the Federal Executive Institute, which addressed the characteristics of "The Bicentennial Era Public Executive." Probation and parole administrators are not alone in facing the challenge of conceptual leadership. To be effective, all public executives today must provide this kind of guidance:

> "A foremost function of public executives today is to facilitate people making sense of things—to lead in discovering and clarifying 'what it all may mean' in complex, often perplexing situations."

Referring to "the Nixon tragedy" as illustration, Newland argues that professional executives "must manage and lead institutions" in a fashion "clearly articulated with fundamental values and processes of constitutional democracy."[10]

2. *Achieving involvement and commitment.* Much of the landscape of probation and parole today seems to be characterized by lethargy and low morale. Staff go about their work doggedly, but without anything approaching the feeling of commitment and accomplishment which some writers on management have called "self-actualization."[11] There is a preoccupation with survival and the bureaucratic in-fighting thought necessary to sustain it. Aware of the almost devastating criticism levelled at their field, staff tend to keep a low profile and find the "real" satisfactions of life off the job. True, there are numerous special and experimental programs (almost always funded by outside money) which exude an aura of hope and excitement, but typically these remain islands, sepa-

58

rated from the main body of the organization. Ironically, these special programs sometimes produce a negative side-effect, causing staff in regular programs to feel even more unproductive. And too often the experimental program is discontinued when outside funds are no longer available.

In some agencies and programs, on the other hand, energy levels are high and a feeling is conveyed of important work being done by competent and confident people. The kind and quality of administrative leadership appears to be a critical factor in most of these situations. Such capabilities may not be transportable from one situation to another, for they seem to be highly culture-bound—a happy blending of a particular administrator with a particular organization. Nevertheless, given the importance of the leadership dynamic, an attempt should be made to identify the key elements of leadership which appear to encourage increased productivity.

First, it appears indispensable that the administrator (preferably the entire management team) be highly committed, optimistic, and, in effect, model the attitudes and behaviors they wish to see exhibited by staff. One management group visited set very high standards and were insistent that they be reached, encouraging peer pressure on those whose work was slipshod. The constant theme was: "We have a topnotch staff and expect them to perform at that level." The atmosphere of the agency seemed purposeful but relatively relaxed. Expectations were high, but there did not appear to be chronic tensions. In fact, considerable humor and "fun" were allowed. Candor in communications was valued highly, even criticism on points which might be considered quite sensitive. The deputy chief said, "We all tell the other guy if we think he's screwing up, but we don't carry grudges."

Another leadership pattern which seemed closely associated with productivity was to grant staff a wide margin of discretion, judging them by results rather than constantly monitoring their activities. Certain administrators recognized that officers achieve goals in different ways and there is a need to be flexible within fairly broad policy frames. This approach reached its ultimate expression in Connecticut's P/PREP program (Chapter III), where the state agency allowed great autonomy on the part of the private organizations with which they had contracts for service to offenders. It was considered acceptable for organizations partially funded by the state to take positions contrary to those of the sponsoring state agency and even to advocate their views before the legislature. Less dramatic examples of discretion and flexibility appeared in relationships between headquarters and field offices; the latter, while encouraged to be creative, were held accountable for outcomes.

Still another management characteristic which appeared to encourage effective performance was the ability to involve a wide range of persons and groups whose help was essential. Some administrators seemed to have made this a fine art, while others ignored it almost entirely. The most impressive management groups possessed a diversity of ability and experience and they tended to operate as teams in contrast to single-leader systems. Interesting combinations of people played varied administrative roles, including ex-officers[12] and persons from backgrounds outside of government and the field of criminal justice. The Community Justice Project in Maine, for example, was working to create a feeling of involvement—what they called a sense of "ownership" of their new program—on the part of diverse constituencies both within and outside the criminal justice system. It was recognized that people will not feel committed to activities in which they have had no part in planning and development. Active involvement seemed to be the key to generating support.

The task of diffusing innovative practices and successful experiments throughout large, bureaucratic systems also seems to call for special management skills. The unqualified support of top management appears to be essential to the success of any innovation and attention must be given almost from the beginning to the problem of spreading the new approach through the agency. For example, the director of Massachusetts' Parole Impact Project (Chapter II) was available at critical times to "run interference" and (with the support of the agency head) to deal with power centers too potent for project staff to handle. This administrator demonstrated skill in making strategic connections with regular parole staff, institution officers, and others who might be threatened and defensive if not informed. All membrs of the project team were viewed as change agents with responsibility for disseminating the new techniques throughout the larger organization.

B. Structure

Initial efforts to identify particular structural arrangements which facilitate the delivery of correctional services led to a host of unresolved questions about which corrections people have debated for years. The limited nature of this study did not permit any in-depth analysis of the issues of centralization

vs. decentralization, state vs. local control, or judicial vs. executive administration of services. The discussion of structural arrangements presented here thus does not offer any definitive recommendations on these issues. Instead, examples are presented of structures which appear to facilitate "getting the job done."

Successful organizational arrangements were impressive because of their potential for operationalizing the values and doctrines of offender reintegration. It might be argued that conventional organizational formats in probation and parole have tended to operate to defeat reintegration. Traditional community corrections agencies are layered and stratified, using up inordinate amounts of energy in bureaucratic process rather than delivery of services. They tend to be relatively closed systems, unable or unwilling to interact with their environments. The hierarchical chain-of-command defeats both creative discretion at the operating level and accountability for results at the management level. The organization of work with offenders around "caseloads" carried by individual officers rigidifies helping activities, impedes service brokerage and advocacy, and preserves the illusion of "therapy" which may better meet the needs of staff than those of probationers and parolees.

Some illustrations of promising structural arrangements are offered below. The discussion is directed to three areas of internal structure: overall organizational structure for agency service delivery; structures for monitoring and feedback to achieve accountability and credibility in operating activities; and structuring of the work of probation and parole officers with offenders.

1. *Agency structures for effective service delivery.* The review of community correctional programs nominated as outstanding strongly suggests that both authority and responsibility for program decisions need to be concentrated close to the action and organized on a scale small enough to permit highly participative, flexible, and discretionary modes of operation. The "small is beautiful"[13] ethos came through in many comments and in site visit observations.

Recognition of the decentralization concept appeared frequently in regionalization plans. Many, if not most, of the agencies visited (at least those of any considerable size), prescribed a regional pattern of operations. For example, the Pennsylvania system had laid out a specification of "decisions currently made in central office which could and should be decentralized to at least the Regional Director level and possibly below that":

"1. All bail decisions, except in extremely serious situations, could be decentralized to the Regional Director or the District Office Supervisor level. With this, special criteria for approving or disapproving bail should be given to the Regional Directors as a focal point for making bail decisions. . . .
2. All personnel decisions concerning promotions, hiring, suspension, and termination could be decentralized to the Regional Director level with strict adherence to the policy and procedure outlined in Civil Service law and in accordance with the various Union contracts.
3. The opening of offices beyond regular working hours should be the decision of the Regional Director or the District Office Supervisor involved. . . .
4. Recommendations to the Board for release, recommitment, reinstatement, etc. should go directly from the field to the Board. . . .
5. The assignment of parole numbers by Central Office on special probation and special parole cases could be done at the District Office level. . . .
6. Control, preparation, and distribution of final discharge notices should be decentralized to the District Office level.
7. Regional Directors should have the authority and responsibility to reassign staff within their regions as the need for change indicates."[14]

There are obvious advantages to decentralization and regionalization within large state systems. In fact, there is no viable alternative when size and other factors dictate unification of services at the state level. In such situations effective service delivery seems to call for major delegation of operating responsibilities within a well monitored framework of general policy. Avoidance of petty, bureaucratic "kibitzing" from above and minimizing intervening structures appear to be critical to strong and cost-effective field services.

Nevertheless, there are problems inherent in all headquarters-field relationships. The efforts in some localities to create comprehensive community correctional organizations at the local level (in some cases integrating them organizationally with institutional facilities for misdemeanants) have considerable merit. Such arrangements vest in local officials both

authority and responsibility, increasing their accountability to the electorate and maximizing their sensitivity to indigenous problems and needs. Under this type of structure, the role of State government moves toward indirect rather than operational services—subsidizing and setting standards for local efforts and providing various forms of technical assistance, staff training, and information dissemination.

A number of examples of community services for offenders within county-level departments of correction were encountered. Some California counties have moved in this direction. Ventura County, for example, recently established a corrections services agency which administratively combines adult and juvenile probation with work release and prerelease programs for those sentenced to jail. The programs share a facility apart from the jail, which continues under the sheriff's management. Marin County has reorganized its services to place the OR and work-release programs within the probation department. San Diego County may have gone further than any other California county in bringing a broad range of community, institutional and "part-way" resources under a single administration

King County, Washington, offers an example of creative structural change—in this case through the consolidation of varied resources under a county Department of Rehabilitation. A separate municipal probation service of the City of Seattle also illustrates an interesting combination of pre- and post-adjudication services within a single agency. A detailed discussion of this agency's unusually innovative approach to the organization of work and other internal operations is presented in Chapter V. These approaches to local consolidation of community correctional services appear extremely promising (despite numerous problems) and undoubtedly warrant special and separate study.

In summary, two main themes are evident in structural changes designed to improve agency service delivery: regionalization in large state-administered systems and consolidation in locally administered systems. Each has its strengths and its problems, but it seems clear that, however accomplished, reintegrative services become effective and develop links with other systems when there is both strong leadership and high autonomy close to the point of delivery.

2. *Structures for monitoring and feedback.* The importance of discretion, flexibility, and influence over critical decisions at the operating level has just been emphasized. But there is an opposite side to this coin which cannot be ignored by administrators of large organizations separated from their field operations by geographic and hierarchical distance: How can standards of quality be maintained and conformity with general agency policy be assured? And how can the central office administrator obtain information which is sufficiently timely and accurate to know whether or not things are going well in the field?

This is an area in which community corrections shares a concern with others in public service. The problem is one of accountability—demonstrating that agency activities not only make efficient use of scarce resources, but are effective in meeting the needs of the public. In a time when legislators speak of zero-based budgets and political candidates refer to sundown aws, it has become popular to shake a fist at bureaucrats who place their own survival above the public interest, advancing means over ends at the taxpayers' expense. And those who work within bureaucratic systems have horror stories of their own to tell concerning the tyranny of process over purpose.

It is not surprising, then, that a pervasive concern with this issue was discovered during site visits. Many agencies and programs were recommended as interesting, innovative or exemplary primarily because they were thought to have come to grips with the problem of monitoring activities and thus achieving the elusive goal of "accountability." The informal inputs acquired during site visits suggested the complexity of this problem. High accountability (close monitoring and scrutiny of staff activity) may well be achieved at the cost of low morale, or by an inordinate investment of energy in competitive maneuvers between those who seek to control and the targets of their efforts. Control systems sometimes have a blind, bureaucratic quality which overpowers discretion, flexibility, and creative response at operating levels. The problem, therefore, is to achieve a delicate balance between too much (or the wrong kind) of control and too little.

The general picture which emerged from a review of structural change in this area is not highly positive. Throughout the country there is much interest in the use of computerized information systems and program evaluation techniques as an aid to management. And certainly many such systems are already in place and working, with varying degrees of adequacy. But the gap between information and policy, between decisions and the knowledge needed for their implementation, is still wide. Belief in program evaluation, performance norms, and modern information technology is like belief in motherhood:

everyone is for it. But there is a great deal of frustration about outcomes, perhaps because of a tendency to expect exotic systems and structures to deliver automatically what can be gained only by the exercise of human judgment. Nevertheless, some carefully developed and well-executed methods for improving accountability in probation and parole agencies were identified.

The Division of Youth Corrections of the Virginia Department of Corrections appears to have approached the development of a management information system in a determined and sensible way. Emphasis is placed on the use of central classification to programmatically tie the community-based field services into the central system.[15] Monitoring of ongoing activities occurs through the Virginia Juvenile Justice Information System which currently is being expanded to incorporate the central care facilities in addition to the present system of juvenile and domestic relations courts. A graphic portrayal of the Virginia juvenile justice system, indicating the programs about which management information must be generated, is presented in Figure 1. One of the most interesting features of the Virginia approach to administration is their effort to combine decentralized administration with central control and to develop a workable blend of these two often antithetical functions.

The Maryland Division of Parole and Probation has introduced a number of structural changes designed to provide management with the information needed to monitor and, when indicated, influence field activities. This agency handles a sizable workload, with a staff of 870 supervising some 37,000 active criminal cases and 67,000 domestic relations (child support) cases and conducting approximately 700 presentence and background investigations each month.

Since mid-1973 the Division has had a Case Analysis Unit to establish guidelines for recommendations regarding parole revocation decisions. Central office staff review field office recommendations in an atmosphere which, according to the agency head, is "removed from the influences and pressures of local field operations," with administrative personnel who "are trained and sensitive to the objective of reducing incarceration of non-dangerous offenders."[17] The Maryland director describes the Unit as follows:

> "This staff reviews all recommendations made by field staff regarding violations of parole to assure that adequate information has been presented to make a decision regarding the issuance of a parole retake warrant, to assure that this pertinent information is considered in the agent's recommendation, to assure that the recommendation is consistent with policy guidelines, and to prepare any needed alternative recommendations to the Board of Parole when the Case Analyst does not concur with the field agent."[18]

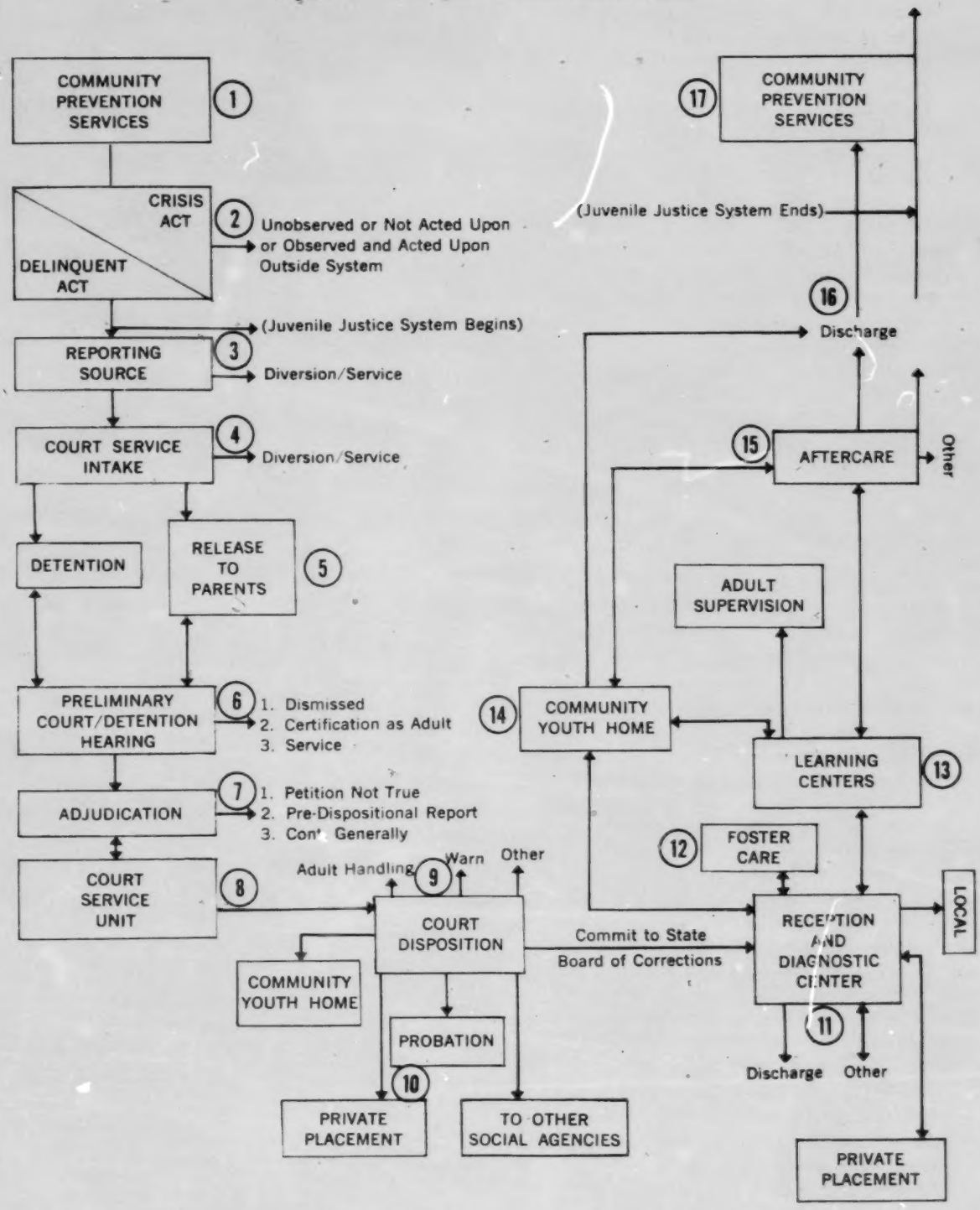
Discussion of the Case Analysis Unit during the site visit in Hunt Valley, Maryland, found staff enthusiastic about its potential for bringing field reports up to desired standards and insuring uniform quality throughout the system. Some of the criteria applied to case reports were thoroughness, conciseness, relevance of the analysis to the decision reached, and general conformity to headquarters' policies. While such monitoring sometimes causes tensions between field and central office personnel, this problem is minimized if communications are handled adroitly and the process is viewed as educational (especially in "socializing" new staff to the norms of the agency) rather than disciplinary.

Training of supervisors was seen as especially important. Decisions made in the field were sometimes reversed at headquarters. One of the concerns of special importance from an agency-wide standpoint was insuring protection of the public and guarding the department against losses of credibility stemming from "wrong" decisions which are widely publicized.

Another quite unusual monitoring technique employed by the Maryland Division of Parole and Probation is its Inspectional Services Unit. This program began with the development of a manual of policies and procedures which spelled out officially approved ways of doing business and provided a comprehensive framework for inspection and review. The Unit began its work in the spring of 1973, focusing first on caseload management in the field offices and gradually broadening its scope to include a general evaluation of all agency operations. The agency head commented on its work as follows:

> "Personnel of this unit periodically visit each of the Divisional offices. They attempt to measure work output and examine operations, procedures, facilities and physical resources at these various locations. A formal report of evaluation is then prepared and forwarded to appropriate administrative personnel. Field services activity in terms of community contacts, etc. has been measured, standardized, and significantly in-

Figure 1. The Virginia Juvenile Justice System [16]



creased in both quantity and quality as a result of the activities of this Unit, which is unquestionably the Division's single most valuable administrative system. Although regularly done in police agencies and private industry, its application to parole and probation organizations is probably new in this case."[19]

Undoubtedly, this is an area in which great management skill and sensitivity are required for successful implementation. The problem is one of obtaining full and accurate information without destroying trust and rapport. Alvin W. Gouldner, in "The Secrets of Organizations,"[20] makes distinctions among organizational "secrets" which old bureaucratic hands will great with smiles of recognition. "Open secrets," for example, are communicated freely except in the presence of novices and outsiders; "strategic secrets" are managed in a guarded way and carefully concealed from outsiders; and "dark secrets" are concealed by organization members, even from each other. These norms of concealment represent a formidable problem for those who would open up activities (especially imperfections) to the light of day. It would seem especially important for managers engaged in such an effort to work from the premise that growth comes from the recognition of error. Positive reinforcement of improvements usually is more productive than penalizing mistakes.

The Maryland agency paid special attention to the problem of collecting court-ordered restitution, another important dimension of accountability in probation and parole. The need for clear guidelines and vigorous monitoring of restitution orders seems obvious, but such a capacity probably does not exist in most agencies. Supervising officers often are placed in the position of trying to administer ambitious plans in which reports of violations tend to come either too early or too late for effective utilization. Pointing out that the use of restitution in probation agencies has greatly expanded in recent years, the division head said:

> "The Maryland Division of Parole and Probation has applied a rigorous administrative control approach to the process of enforcing restitution orders in order to increase the efficiency of collection and, thereby, to increase the effectiveness of this sentencing approach. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first program designed specifically to standardize, monitor, and enforce the collection of restitution monies and the systematic reporting of payment failure to the judiciary."[21]

A final element of improved accountability represented by the Maryland program is the monitoring of offenders through a computerized information system. Idnetifying information on cases under supervision is fed into the Maryland Interagency Law Enforcement System (MILES) and used for such purposes as computing caseloads and keeping track of the characteristics of offenders. In addition to these administrative uses, the MILES data provide for very rapid flow of information to the Parole and Probation Division following the arrest of an offender who is under supervision.

One of the by-products of this monitoring system seen as most important by its users is the tendency to open up and improve communications between police and corrections staff. This degree of reliance on computers did cause some apprehension among professional agency staff, but reportedly these concerns have lessened as the utility of the system has been demonstrated. One official summed up the advantages of the approach by saying that it "gets information into our system in a way that leads to action rather than filing."

While illustrations of structures and techniques for improving accountability have been drawn primarily from two jurisdictions, it should be pointed out that interesting data pertaining to this area were received from many sources. For example, the California Youth Authority is developing a fully computerized management information system (OBITS) considered to be both cost-effective and highly flexible in adapting to changing information needs. And the Adult Parole Authority of Ohio has developed an administrative review system which reportedly has the capacity to avoid needless incarceration through rigorous review of decisions made by field staff.[22]

There is one additional aspect of the monitoring-feedback function which seems to be often neglected and may represent a blind spot for many probation and parole managers. Seldom is information systematically collected on offenders' views of agency operations. In sharp contrast to the practices of corporate enterprise, little or no effort is made to find out what "customers" think of the correctional product. No doubt the usual agency perspective is that probationers and parolees are not really consumers of a service. Yet since the ultimate test of organizational effectiveness is whether or not the offender behaves in a manner consistent with agency goals, it seems self-defeating to ignore offenders' reactions to agency interventions in their lives.

An interesting effort to accomplish this purpose was observed in the Youthful Offender Division of the South Carolina Department of Corrections. When an offender under supervision by that agency completes his period of supervision, he is asked to answer anonymously a series of ten open-ended questions concerning the parole experience. Review of a random sample of completed questionnaires revealed the candor and specificity of the information obtained in this manner. While largely positive toward the parole experience, offenders offered many comments useful to management groups seeking to understand and improve their operations. Copies of the questionnaire and the cover letter are included in Appendix A.

3. *Work structures for probation and parole officers.* Under the conventional caseload system an individual officer is assigned a number of cases on the basis of the geographic area in which the offenders reside. There have been numerous efforts to vary the size of supervision caseloads, to assign certain kinds of officers to certain kinds of offenders, or to vary the type and amount of intervention according to some predetermined scheme. But these approaches, according to some observers, have not been wholly successful. In a recent effort to appraise the efficacy of parole, David F. Stanley of the Brookings Institution summarizes the results of such experiments:

> "Will a parole officer do a better job of supervision if he has thirty-five parolees (as suggested by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement in 1967) instead of a hundred? He can more frequently counsel them, help them find jobs or homes, threaten them, look for them, and spy on them. Common sense certainly suggests that this will help them stay out of prison, but common sense appears to be an inadequate guide. The evidence found in scores of case load research studies is inconclusive."[23]

Stanley also reports generally discouraging results of efforts to match officers with offenders and to implement various classification and assignment programs, including the Work Unit Parole Program developed in California. While efforts to improve upon the size and makeup of supervision caseloads probably should be continued, there seems to be a need for some genuinely different approaches to structuring the work of probation and parole officers, especially since present arrangements do not seem ideally suited for penetrating the surrounding community or mobilizing its resources.

Perhaps the most interesting effort to improve the structuring of probation and parole work at the operating level is the concept of team supervision. This approach is particularly well represented in the current experiments of the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education with the Community Resources Management Team (CRMT) described in Chapter III. The developers of the CRMT, who are now training staff in a number of locations to implement the new system, believe that it has the capability for improving management processes as well as delivering more effective reintegrative services.[25]

Reliance on a team instead of a number of individual officers breaks up the traditional hierarchical pattern and creates more open, flexible, and diversified ways of dealing with both the offender and the surrounding community. The CRMT strategy was designed to overcome some of the disadvantages of the traditional structure and management of probation and parole agencies.

> "Issues having to do with traditional organization and structure were of utmost concern in contemplating program change. . . . Most probation and parole agencies in the United States have a hierarchical organization with autocratic management styles that typically emerge from such organizations. Teams, if present at all, are given little autonomy. Caution and protection of the agency is often the order of the day. Decision-makers in such agencies are naturally wary of a team approach, thinking that this is only a preliminary action to the managers' loss of control."[26]

Training of probation and parole staffs for the introduction of CRMT into their agencies also was directed toward institutionalizing change. For this purpose, "vertical slices" were drawn from each organization for training in CRMT.

> "The rationale for this was to insure that all key decision levels would be represented, and to provide positive sanctions for organizational change. These slices then became not only the targets for change, but ultimately became change agents in their own right when they returned to their organizations to implement the CRMT concept. . . . In hierarchical organizations it is vital that the top decision-maker be a part of the

team. The absence of personnel from this level reduces team strength, particularly when an attempt is made to introduce CRMT in agencies that are resistive, if not hostile to this new approach."[27]

The type of structure which emerges from application of the CRMT model, and the manner in which that structure interfaces with the community, are dramatically different from the hierarcnical arrangements in most organizations. This is illustrated by the graphic display prepared by the Monterey County (California) Probation Department and shown in Figure 2.[28]

C. External Relationships

For the community corrections agency to realize its maximum potential there must be a dependable flow of needed resources inward to the agency and an acceptance of agency services by the outside vorld. The reintegration model of corrections depends heavily upon the development of exchange relationships or linkages with diverse groups and power centers. This ability must be represented by both management and staff at the operating level. In fact, unless channels of communication are open and the cooperation of other systems is obtained, there can be little hope for success in community corrections.

The present capabilities of probation and parole agencies for establishing effective exchange relationships are for the most part limited. Most existing relationships are restricted to the public bureaucracy of which the correctional agency is a part, rather than with private or non-official agencies. Functional linkages with organizations performing complementary functions and services are generally unsatisfactory. Schisms commonly are found between corrections and the police, courts, and other human service systems. Within corrections too, there are schisms between juvenile and adult services and between institutional and community programs. And relationahips with the general public often are sadly neglected.

There are, however, some notable exceptions. Chapter III illustrated some new approaches to the development of relationships with organizations and groups which control allocation of resources needed by the agency to function effectively. Connecticut's P/PREP program has effective relationships with indigenous community groups, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and a network of private agencies with boards sponsors, and supports of their own. The Criminal Justice Project in Maine, which has on its staff a former media figure with easy and effective access to the statehouse, is attempting to develop complementary relationships among related agencies. Using a "management-by-objectives" approach, the Maine project has sought to draw into program planning and implementation representatives of a broad range of mental health and criminal justice groups.[29] Staff speak of seeking a "ripple effect" and of broadening the "tunnel vision" which characterizes most bureaucratic efforts in the corrections field. Some staff are assigned roles as "hustlers of service," while provision of direct service is held to a minimum.

Examples of relationships with the general public (i.e., persons not associated with formal organizations) are provided by the public education programs of Connecticut and Maine. Perhaps this is the most difficult task of all: to increase public understanding of the problems of community corrections and to obtain public support in devising solutions. A young research associate of the present study who had no previous experience in this field made the following statement after reviewing the data collected for this chapter:

> "Several things keep flashing in my mind about the whole community reintegration issue, that may or may not be worth much, but bother me nonetheless. How do we get people to take responsibility for justice and teaching justice, instead of totally designating this job to law enforcers and parole and probation officers? How do we provide for the leaders of the community (not the bankers and the clergy, but the real spokesmen) to be heard? . . . Professionals and experts make the decisions and control the ballgame, when in fact it should be everyone's responsibility to be the keepers of the peace."[30]

The authors are not certain how to answer such fresh-eyed questions or how to illustrate more fully the nature of the reciprocities and exchanges which enable a probation or parole agency to function effectively. It is hoped that some answers will begin to emerge in the next chapter, which offers a more holistic view of several interesting community corrections programs.

D. Summary

All of the information collected for this study

Figure 2. Monterey County Probation Department, Community Resources Management Team Delivery System

suggests that questions of organization and management are central to the problem of upgrading community corrections and making that enterprise more effective. Several national commissions have addressed the complex issues of organization and administration of probation and parole, stressing the problems of fragmentation, duplication of effort, and service gaps. The standards and recommendations developed by these study commissions provide a basis for evaluating community correction systems and working toward their improvement.

Site visits undertaken for the present study produced considerable information on organizational and administrative arrangements which appear to enhance the effectiveness of probation and parole programs. It is suggested that probation and parole agencies adopt a change-oriented approach to problem-solving, characterized by strong and dynamic management, a coherent set of values and goals with clearly defined means of achieving them, internal structures which facilitate agency operations, and a broad network of linkages with other organizations and groups whose cooperation is necessary for fulfillment of the mission of community corrections.

REFERENCES AND NOTES—CHAPTER IV

1. Henry C. Metcalf and L. Urwick (eds.), *Dynamic Administration: The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett*, New York, Harper, 1940.
2. U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 183.
3. E. K. Nelson, Jr. and Catherine H. Lovell, *Developing Correctional Administrators*, Research Report of the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, Washington, D.C., November, 1969.
4. National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, *Report on Corrections*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.
5. This table was used in a seminar on public administration at the University of Southern California. Its source is unknown.
6. Hopefully, the research community will begin to work more often with correctional practitioners to test and refine the doctrinal positions and mission statements of community corrections. In a few instances, this is already occurring. The studies of parole decision-making and the value premises on which decisions are based by Gottfredson and his colleagues furnishes another refreshing example. See: Don M. Gottfredson, Peter B. Hoffman, Maurice H. Sigler, and Leslie T. Wilkins, "Making Parole Policy Explicit," *Crime and Delinquency*, January, 1975, pp. 36–45.
7. Information on Project Upstream can be obtained from Mr. Max Scott, Director, Boys Republic, Chino, California.
8. *Op. cit. supra* note 3, p. 81.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Chester A. Newland, "The Bicentennial Era Public Executive," undated pamphlet, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Federal Executive Institute, p. 3. The first clear articulation of the need for top administrators to infuse their organizations with values appeared in the seminal work by Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, New York, Harper and Row, 1957.
11. Harold J. Leavitt, *Managerial Psychology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1963, pp. 161–77.
12. For an interesting discussion of the use of ex-offenders in administrative roles, see Earl E. Durham, "St. Leonard's House: A Model in the Use of Ex-Offenders in the Administration of Correction," *Crime and Delinquency*, July, 1974, pp. 269–80.
13. E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful*, New York, Harper and Row, 1973.
14. Memorandum on "Decentralization Program," to Butler, Conley and Jefferson (members) and William C. Boar, Chairman, Pennsylvania Parole Agency, August 31, 1973, from Fred W. Jacobs, Executive Assistant.
15. Letter from E. W. Bell, III, Department of Corrections, Division of Youth Services, Commonwealth of Virginia, May 13, 1976.
16. Figure 2 was reproduced from material supplied by staff of the Virginia Division of Youth Services.
17. Letter to authors from John M. Pettibone, Director, Division of Parole and Probation, Hunt Valley, Maryland, May 14, 1976.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Op. cit supra* note 17.
20. Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Secrets of Organizations," *Social Welfare Forum*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1963, pp. 161–77.
21. *Op. cit. supra* note 17.
22. Letter to authors from R. E. Giannetta, Chief, Division of Parole and Community Services, Ohio Department of Parole and Community Services, Columbus, Ohio, May 10, 1976.
23. David T. Stanley, *Prisoners Among Us: the Problem of Parole*, the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1976, p. 128.
24. *Id.*, pp. 84–6.
25. Interview with WICHE consultant, W. Tom Adams, August, 1976.
26. Frank Dell-Apa, W. Tom Adams, James D. Jorgensen, and Herbert R. Sigurdson, "Community Resources Management Team: An Innovation in Restructuring Probation and Parole," Manuscript prepared by staff and consultants of WICHE for submission to *Federal Probation*, August, 1976, pp. 9–10.
27. *Ibid.*
28. "Community Resources Management Team for Adult Offenders," Statement furnished by the Monterey County, California Probation Department, June, 1975, p. 12.
29. Howard D. Blazek, Principal Investigator, NIMH Evaluation Project, *Evaluation Report*, 1975, Community Justice Project, 101 Water Street, Waterville, Maine, pp. 8–10.
30. Project memorandum from Devara Berger to E. K. Nelson, August, 1976.

CHAPTER V. SOME COMPREHENSIVE CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS

Early in the planning for this study it was agreed that an effort should be made to identify several correctional agencies which have successfully organized a number of programs into a comprehensive system, providing examples of progressive practice within an integrated administrative structure. In recent years considerable attention has been directed to the problem of fragmentation of the criminal justice process and its correctional component. Indeed, a central thrust of correctional reform in the past decade has been the effort to assemble the fragments into more coherent and better integrated structures.[1]

The typical organizational pattern, in which correctional activities are distributed across three or four levels of government, numerous political subdivisions, and at least two separate functions—institutional and field—has contributed to the ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the correctional enterprise. Service gaps are found in many areas and overlapping and sometimes competitive programs in others. Fragmentation of services also inhibits comprehensive planning, masks responsibility for the end result, lends itself to manipulation by some offenders while overwhelming many others, and bewilders and confuses the public.

A logical organizational scheme, of course, will not guarantee an effective correctional program. And impressive programs and practices are found within some of the most disjointed correctional systems. However, optimal results are more likely when competent administrators direct the activities of an organizationally integrated array of programs and services.

The search for organizational and program models produced more than anticipated and the selection of case studies to be discussed in this chapter was difficult. Promising correctional strategies in states not visited also might have qualified as program models. Others, such as the Des Moines Project,[2] were deliberately excluded because they have been extensively studied and reported elsewhere. The four examples described in this chapter thus are not presented as the only "good" community correctional systems in America. They are offered instead as illustrations of the principles and practices discussed throughout this report.

Among the criteria for selection of program models were the following:

- Comprehensive—Incorporating a broad spectrum of programs into an integrated continuum of services;
- Progressiveness and innovativeness—Representative of current thinking and practice in the field and contributing to knowledge and experience through testing and experimenting with new program concepts;
- Outreach in resource development—Extending beyond the immediate official baliwick and the public funding source into the private sector for service and support;
- Organizational coherence—Integrating the pieces of the correctional operation into some coherent organizational pattern.

It must be acknowledged that selection of program models probably also was influenced by the commitment, motivation, and enthusiasm of administrative, supervisory, and line personnel encountered in site visits. The conviction that what one is doing is "right," and that it "works," is apt to be contagious and convincing even when solid evidence of effectiveness is lacking.

The following case studies are offered as representative of the selection criteria:

- Minnesota State Department of Corrections, for its community corrections strategy and residential programs;
- King County (Washington) Department of Rehabilitation for its successful integration and organizational packaging of diverse programs;
- Seattle (Washington) Municipal Probation Service, for its integration of pre- and post-adjudi-

cation programs, "brokerage" strategy, and team operation;

- San Diego County (California) Probation Department, for its atypical integration of a broad range of generally high quality programs.

A. The Case of Minnesota: A Community Corrections Strategy

When project staff queried Kenneth Schoen, Director of the Minnesota Department of Corrections, about state correctional programs or strategies worthy of emulation elsewhere, he responded without hesitation: the Community Corrections Act of 1974. A week of field study plus a review of many documents and reports led to the conclusion that the Community Corrections Act, and particularly its organizational structure, is a unique contribution to the development of correctional practice.

Passage of the Act in 1974 was the culmination of considerable assessment and planning which involved a cross-section of professionals within and outside the state as well as political and community leaders. Initiated by the previous director, David Fogel, the assessment, planning, and promotional efforts were brought to fruition by Schoen. The concepts implicit in the Act, and the program and organizational structure it projects, probably represent one of the country's most promising efforts to construct a comprehensive correctional strategy within a logical organizational format.

Minnesota has long enjoyed a substantial reputation for humane and progressive social legislation and programs. Yet prior to passage of the Community Corrections Act, its correctional apparatus—like that of most states—was composed of a fragmented collection of state and county programs of uneven quality and varying degrees of public support and involvement. Many elements of the organizational jumble which preceded the Act still are evident in the current transition period. The principal characteristics of the new order set forth in the Community Corrections Act are described in a document published by the Association of Counties. Advocacy of the Act by the counties represents a significant development in itself.

1. *State-county partnership.* The Community Corrections Act clearly delineates and differentiates the duties of the State and county governments. All direct services are consolidated at the county or regional level, with the exception of the operation of prisons and training schools. As the counties come into participation under the Act, any State-operated community-based programs (probation, parole, residential facilities) will be incorporated into the local corrections administration. A principal objective of the Act is to strengthen community programs and facilities so that the number of offenders incarcerated in State institutions can be reduced. Savings in State institution costs will be used to subsidize local correctional programs.

2. *State subsidy of local programs.* To facilitate the improvement of local corrections the Act projects a potential State subsidy to counties of more than $15 million. The formula for distribution of subsidy monies is based on county population, per capita income, property values, rate of correctional expenditures, and percentage of population in the crime-prone age group. The State charges local administrators for commitments to State institutions (with the exception of serious felony offenders with terms of more than five years) at approximately the current State cost. At the time of the site visit, the charge was $22 per day for adults and $35 for juvenile commitments. These charges are deducted from subsidy monies otherwise available to the counties.

The local administration agrees to: (1) develop a comprehensive plan for all correctional programs (juvenile and adult, public and private, institution and field) and to renew and update it annually; (2) create a Corrections Advisory Board to oversee planning and program administration; (3) devise the kind of administrative organization and structure best suited to local needs; (4) stress the development of diversion programs, prevention programs, and alternatives to lock-up; (5) maintain at least the existing level of expenditures for corrections, in addition to the expenditure of State subsidy funds; and (6) substantially comply with State-developed standards for program and staff and cooperate with State-level inspection, monitoring, and program evaluation.

The State is obligated to: (1) provide subsidy funds and re-calculate biennially the amount to which each local unit is entitled; (2) provide technical assistance to counties in planning and program development; (3) set standards for staff and service levels; and (4) provide monitoring and program evaluation.

An interesting feature of the law is the requirement that contracting counties or regions must have a population base of at least 30,000. With some four million persons spread over the State's 87 counties, there clearly are many jurisdictions which cannot meet the population requirement; thus, regionalization of the smaller or less densely populated counties is necessary. With 18 counties currently participating (an additional four are expected to have completed

agreement procedures by January, 1977), a total of only eight contracts have been concluded.[4] A single contract, for example, covers one region with six component counties. Regional development, with the many negotiations that must be completed by cooperating counties, has complicated and probably slowed the Act's implementation, but it is clearly a significant device for insuring comprehensive program development and funding small or sparsely populated jurisdictions.

3. *Impact of the community corrections act.* It is much too early to assess the overall impact of Minnesota's Community Corrections Act. Timing of the Act perhaps was unfortunate, since its passage coincided with an increase in rates of serious crime as well as an expansion of prison populations. Both of these trends were evident throughout the country.[5] The Minnesota legislation has accommodated the serious crime increase to some extent by exempting long-term commitments from the charges levied against the counties. Of course, a substantial portion of crimes against persons are committed by juveniles, whose commitments to State institutions are not exempted from the per capita charge.

In spite of such negative factors, the Act appears to be having the intended impact upon the commitment practices of participating counties. Careful monitoring reflects the pattern of court dispositions in each judicial district as it comes within the new program. The data collected, current to within 30 to 60 days, indicate that the percentage of felony dispositions resulting in prison commitment is decreasing, while the percentage resulting in probation is increasing. Juvenile commitments to State institutions have declined, and departmental administrators anticipate a time when State juvenile institutions will not be needed. The girls' school has been closed and its population placed in a coeducational program of the State Training School at Red Wing. The former juvenile Reception and Treatment Center at Lino Lakes has been converted to an adult minimum-security institution.

It would be misleading to imply that the reduction in juvenile commitments is solely a product of the Community Corrections Act. The State government initiated a subsidy for county group homes and regional juvenile centers as early as 1969. These subsidy programs continue and, as county participation in the new Community Corrections Act grows, they will be incorporated into the subsidy structure of that program.

4. *Advantages of the Minnesota formula.* The concepts underlying the Community Corrections Act are appealing for a number of important reasons:

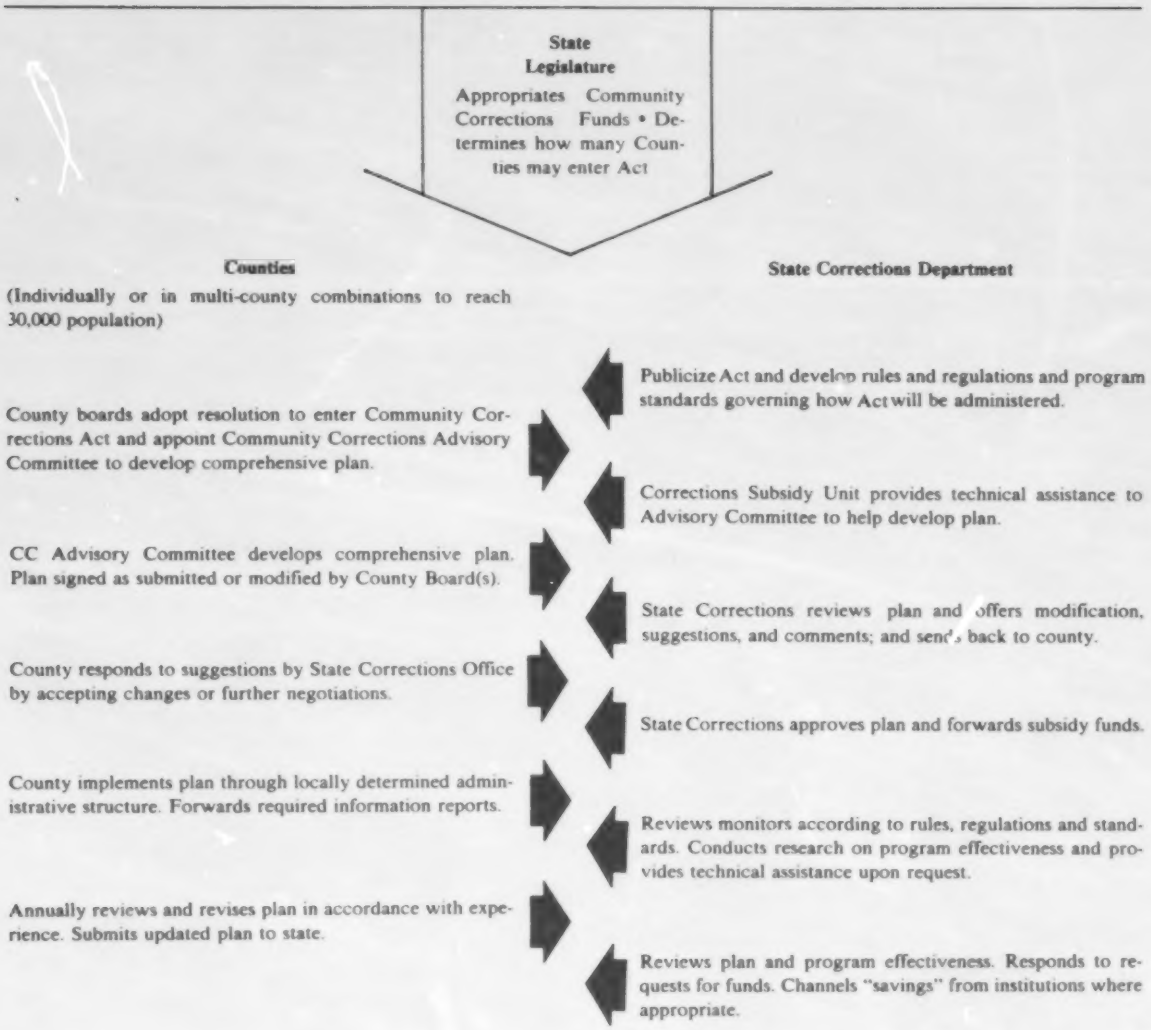
- The State-county partnership seems to satisfy the need for local autonomy and flexibility in designing programs to meet local conditions, with the State taking responsibility for the development and enforcement of minimum standards and for monitoring and evaluation.
- State funding of programs permits a reasonably consistent level of support which is generally lacking when programs are locally administered and funded. It not only "puts the money where the problem is," but clearly provides a powerful inducement to handle the problem at the local or regional level. Early analysis documents the constraining influence upon the use of State institutions.
- The emphasis on diversion and de-institutionalization, which is consistent with progressive correctional thinking, should restrict the offender's "penetration of the system."
- Insistence on comprehensive local planning not only provides for the integration of state and local programs, but promises a balance of public and private agencies in a coordinated effort.
- The local advisory board insures citizen and professional participation without challenging the traditional authority of the local county commissioners.

Minnesota's well documented tradition of concern for the socially and economically deprived, as demonstrated by its progressive social legislation and adequate funding levels, should create an optimal climate in which to test the precepts of the community corrections strategy. The Minnesota experiment should be closely followed by correctional administrators and planners.

5. *Alternatives to incarceration in Minnesota.* An impressive characteristic of Minnesota corrections is the extensive effort to develop alternatives to jail and prison for the full range of the offender population. While not all probation and parole administrators will be concerned with the development and use of residential services, they are a part of the broad picture of contemporary community corrections.

Chapter II described three such programs in Minneapolis: (1) the de Novo program, an alternative to jail at both the pre- and post-disposition points; (2) Portland House, a privately operated and publicly funded alternative to both jail and prison; and (3) Restitution House, a means of early release from imprisonment. There are a number of other programs

Figure 3. How the Community Corrections Act Works


State Legislature
Appropriates Community Corrections Funds • Determines how many Counties may enter Act
Counties
(Individually or in multi-county combinations to reach 30,000 population)
State Corrections Department
Publicize Act and develop rules and regulations and program standards governing how Act will be administered.
County boards adopt resolution to enter Community Corrections Act and appoint Community Corrections Advisory Committee to develop comprehensive plan.
Corrections Subsidy Unit provides technical assistance to Advisory Committee to help develop plan.
CC Advisory Committee develops comprehensive plan. Plan signed as submitted or modified by County Board(s).
State Corrections reviews plan and offers modification, suggestions, and comments; and sends back to county.
County responds to suggestions by State Corrections Office by accepting changes or further negotiations.
State Corrections approves plan and forwards subsidy funds.
County implements plan through locally determined administrative structure. Forwards required information reports.
Reviews monitors according to rules, regulations and standards. Conducts research on program effectiveness and provides technical assistance upon request.
Annually reviews and revises plan in accordance with experience. Submits updated plan to state.
Reviews plan and program effectiveness. Responds to requests for funds. Channels "savings" from institutions where appropriate.

in Minnesota with a similar objective. The PORT (Probationed Offenders Rehabilitation and Training) program in Rochester, Minnesota, served as the prototype for a series of replications. Opened in 1969, PORT is a regional resource (Dodge, Olmstead, and Fillmore Counties) for adolescents and young adults. The central program facility is located on the grounds of the State hospital in a former nurses' residence. The large, two-story structure, with a capacity of 20, generally serves 17 to 19 residents. An unusual feature of the program is its acceptance of both juveniles and young adults of both sexes. The length of stay varies. Some cases are accepted on a short-term emergency basis in lieu of incarceration in jail. Average stay in the program is nine months. In June, 1976, the daily per capita cost was $16.

This residential program features considerable use of group counseling directed toward resolution of daily problems incidental to group living, as well as the development of significant personal insights and behavioral change. The program offers a variety of work and training placements in the community and

is associated with two group homes, one for boys and the other for girls.

Director Jay Lindgren, a trained social worker, works 80 percent time and is assisted by three social workers. Seven or eight students provide night and weekend coverage in exchange for board and room. Volunteers also are used.

> "During the past year the program has recruited and trained 120 volunteers who have given 4,090 hours to the program. Most of the volunteers offer specific skills such as money management, academic tutoring, job seeking and retention, creative use of leisure time, and driver's license procurement. In addition, volunteers have assisted the court by preparing social histories and monitoring restitution payments and public service activities which are granted in lieu of fines. Some volunteers have chosen to provide a general social support similar to the traditional "big brother" or "big sister" programs. During this past year, 250 clients have been involved with one or more of these services. Whenever possible, a specific set of measurable objectives have been agreed to which are the preferred outcome of the volunteer-offender partnership. Most (90%) of the relationships have had a clear agreement on what was to be accomplished through the relationship. Follow-up for the seven-month period of January through July, 1975, yields an overall objective completion rate of seventy-three percent (73%). The most successful projects were the more concrete, time-limited services such as budget management, driver's license assistance, social history reports, and use of leisure time. The least successful projects were the more prolonged or general services such as "big brother" of "big sister" assistance and academic tutoring."[4]

Importantly contributing to the program's success are the citizen committees which address various aspects of PORT'S activities. The combined membership of 17 committees totals 93, representing a substantial cross-section of the business, professional, and criminal justice leadership of the region. When this membership roster is added to the 120 volunteers who are active at any one time, it is clear that the agency has generated a powerful constituency within the tri-county area, and has moved beyond the typical bureaucratic linkages discussed in Chapter IV.

Since no systematic evaluation with valid comparison groups has been undertaken, only tentative conclusions can be drawn from the data on program effectiveness. However, using relatively rigorous standards of success (arrest rather than conviction) over a follow-up period of six years, the results compare favorably with known outcomes of institutionalized populations. Of those released from institutions, 25–60 percent are reported to have been returned to institutions after one to three years. Fewer than 23 percent of juveniles who have left the PORT Corrections Center have been subsequently institutionalized and fewer than 10 percent of the adults have been committed to state institutions. None of the successfully discharged adults or juveniles has been committed to an institution.[5]

Commitments to State correctional institutions have decreased over time. For the six years prior to 1969, Dodge, Fillmore, and Olmsted Counties averaged 23 new commitments a year. Since that date, this average has been reduced 78 percent to an average of five new commitments a year. The overall rate reduction for juveniles has been 64 percent for a yearly average of 25 for the period 1963–1969 to 9 for the period 1969–75. These reductions are attributed not to PORT alone, but to the cooperative efforts of police, courts, corrections, and community services in developing alternative resources for offender treatment and control.[6]

The apparent success of the 7-year-old PORT program has led to its replication in other Minnesota locations. PORT of Crow Wing, started in 1973 in Brainerd, has a capacity of 15 male juvenile and young adult offenders. Portland House, operated by the Lutheran Social Services in Minneapolis, is an alternative to incarceration for young adult felony offenders. Nexus, a diversion program and an alternative to incarceration located in downtown Minneapolis, has a capacity of 18, and operates as a "therapeutic community." Alpha House is run by a private non-profit corporation administered by a Board composed largely of professional members of the twin-cities community. The Department of Corrections provides some monitoring and the program works closely with the Center for Behavior Modification in Minneapolis. The clientele are parolees from the State prison system and probationers from the community. Housed in a large, old residence in a lower middle-class community of Minneapolis, Alpha House has a capacity for 25 adult males. Organized in 1972 as a "therapeutic community,"

the program currently is focusing on the treatment of sex offenders.

All of the programs described above function at least partly as alternatives to conventional incarceration. These residential centers might be described as "halfway-in" programs. There are also a variety of residential units to serve the needs of the parolee or newly released offender. The 1975 Annual Report of the Department of Corrections describes the following: (1) Project ReEntry, opened in Minneapolis in 1973, has a capacity for 28 offenders on work-release status. Residents receive help with employment, financial management, interpersonal relationships and family problems. (2) Anishinabe Longhouse, also opened in Minneapolis in 1973, handles a maximum of 15 Native American male felons who are paroled to the community and need residential placement. (3) Opened in Minneapolis in 1972, 180 Degrees has a capacity for 30 adult male felons with chemical dependency problems. The program was developed and continues to be operated by ex-felons. (4) The 25 beds of Retreat House in St. Paul are available for adult males paroled from State institutions and persons on work-relase status. The program operates, in part, on a purchase of service arrangement with Ramsey County through their Community Corrections Act subsidy. (5) Hillcrest House, in Duluth, was developed as a regional resource in 1973 to serve both adult and juvenile female offenders who require something more than probation services but who need not be institutionalized. The population (capacity 20) consists primarily of property offenders.[7]

The start-up dates on this roster of halfway houses and residential centers show that Minnesota has moved energetically to expand these community-based residential facilities in recent years. The fact that some of these operations have experienced difficulty in achieving and maintaining populations at full capacity might suggest that the State has moved too fast. The operation of these residential centers recently was subjected to critical scrutiny by staff of the Minnesota Governor's Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, whose investment of State and Federal dollars in the programs has been substantial. Their assessment of the programs' achievement of announced objectives, their comparison of recidivism rates with those of State institutions, and their operating cost analysis suggest that these programs are not significantly less expensive than State institutions, nor are they markedly more effective in reducing recidivism. There is also some concern that the programs are sometimes used for offenders who would otherwise be placed on regular probation, where the per capita cost would have been substantially less.

Such analyses of cost-effectiveness inevitably are plagued with a host of methodological and definitional problems. What portion of the residential population otherwise would be placed on probation? What portion would have have gone to prison? What constitutes "failure?" Is the subject who fails to adjust to house rules and is removed from the program and subsequently institutionalized a recidivist? Is he a "failure" in the same sense as one who has gone AWOL? Or committed a burglary? Since residential center placement is normally for a shorter period of time, is it fair to make cost comparisons on a per-day or per-month basis or would comparisons of cost-per-case-processed be more equitable? How are the earnings of the residents of such centers, and the taxes paid upon those earnings, to be considered in the comparison? On such issues as these program administrators probably will be at odds with the evaluators, yet how these questions are answered can determine the results of cost-effectiveness comparisons.[8]

It should be noted that the development of any new program of treatment or control always poses the risk that it may be used inappropriately. To the extent that it is used for offenders who might be managed equally well at less cost and with less restraint, it will needlessly increase total system costs while imposing unnecessary stigma and restrictions on the individual. This risk can be largely avoided by developing and clearly stating the criteria for selection of subjects for referral and acceptance. In this selection process marginal cases should be resolved in favor of less restrictive or repressive options. However, as the national mood swings toward the expanded use of incarceration, it becomes increasingly essential that community corrections be able to offer some correctional alternatives which provide greater control and surveillance than is typically offered by regular probation. Community residential centers represent one such "part-way" option. In the absence of alternatives such as these, it is likely that billions of dollars will be spent on construction and expansion of prisons and additional thousands of offenders will be exposed to the stigma and brutalization of incarceration.

6. *Newgate Programs: A University-corrections partnership.* The late 1960s witnessed the launching of a new correctional mode oriented toward offender education. Called "Newgate," these programs were sponsored and funded initially by OEO and developed in five localities.[9] The programs were started

within institutions, in each case depending upon the provision of college-level instruction by some nearby college or university. While the programs were primarily institution-based, some of them moved offenders into the community on education release. In Oregon and Minnesota selected inmates were permitted to live in a housing unit adjacent to campus and to pursue a higher education in a manner similar to other college students. One national evaluation of these programs produced highly controversial and critical findings, and none of the other four appear to have approximated the apparently high degree of success that prevails in Minnesota. Here, under the sponsorship of the University of Minnesota's Office of Delinquency Control and Continuing Education, and the energetic leadership of Professor Richard Clendenen, the growth and development of the Newgate program has been impressive.

Phase I of the Newgate program saw the initiation in 1969 of programs at the Minnesota Metropolitan Training Center and at the St. Cloud Reformatory. Selected inmates reside in separate quarters and follow a college-level educational program provided by a combination of institutional and Newgate staff. At the Metropoliatan Training Center provision has been made for the inclusion of women students from the Women's Institution at Shakopee. The necessary books and supplies are provided as part of the program.

In 1971 the first off-institution Newgate project was opened in Minneapolis in a former fraternity house adjacent to the university campus. In addition to room, board, tuition, and books, a stipend of $15 per week is provided until the student obtains some employment. The program, which accepts referrals from State and Federal institutions as well as the courts, is designed to handle up to 20 felons and serious misdemeanants.

At all units of the Newgate project, educational activities are combined with a "positive peer culture" treatment mode. Hour-and-a-half discussions are scheduled regularly with the goal of developing a sense of mutual responsibility for the success of the program and the well-being and personal development of participants. The Newgate Field Services Unit provides the necessary linkages with State, Federal, and local probation referral agencies to maintain unit populations and supports program graduates during the post-release transition stage as they seek housing and jobs in the community.

Men's Vocational Newgate was designed for 20 male felons seeking vocational training rather than a university education. Program participants receive housing and meals, are assisted in securing instruction and on-the-job training, and are provided with a stipend and transportation funds until they obtain a part-time job. Participants are scheduled for a 6- to 7-month stay. Women's Newgate, located in an old mansion in St. Paul, provides vocational or academic training in a program lasting six to nine months. A unique feature of this project is that women are permitted to keep their children with them and the services of a child-care specialist are provided to assist in their supervision, care, and training. In addition to tuition and other costs, this program provides a stipend of $20 per week. The program, designed for 18 women and their children, recently has expanded to a second facility with a capacity for 16 more. The Newgate Youth program serves the 16 to 18 year-old group, providing academic, vocational, and on-the-job training as indicated for 22 youthful males. It is housed in an attractive contemporary structure adjacent to the university campus in Minneapolis.

Per diem costs vary somewhat from unit to unit, from a low of $22 per day at Project Newgate to a high of $28 per day (which includes $5 for tuition, books, etc.) in the Men's Vocational program. Initial funding for the institution-based programs came from OEO and LEAA. Since then a variety of funding sources have been developed. Legislative appropriations to the university and, more recently, to the Department of Corrections, for Newgate costs reflect the status of the program with the legislature. Per diem charges to the courts and counties for some categories of cases constitute a major resource; and private foundation funding has been provided for start-up costs of some projects. Professor Clendenen notes that the multiplicity of funding sources is advantageous, since termination of any one resource probably will not doom the program and no single contributor can assume a controlling posture.

The Minnesota Newgate program is worthy of emulation for several reasons:

- It provides a badly needed educational and vocational training resource, tailored to the special requirements of its clientele.
- It utilities a treatment strategen , "positive peer culture," but this is a secondary objective to the goal of education and training.
- It offers one of the few models in which a university has taken and sustained the initiative in correctional program development. In this it exemplifies a highly desirable partnership between the university and corrections and a unique variety of linkages with the environment.

The Newgate program fits well into Minnesota's

overall community corrections strategy, which emphasizes local management of offenders in a context which maximizes the normalcy of an offender's daily life while helping him to develop the capability for productive and law-abiding behavior.

B. The Case of King County (Washington): Integration of Correctional Services

Roughly one-third of Washington State's three-and-a-half million residents live in King County and, of that number almost half (45 percent) are residents of Seattle, the largest city in the State. Washington ranks 22nd among the states in total population, but its crime rate, as computed by the FBI in 1973, places it in eighth position. This undoubtedly reflects the pattern of steady population growth, developing industrialization, and urbanization.

In the most obvious sense the correctional services of King County could be described as fragmented. The State probation and parole department provides probation services to the Superior (felony) Courts; the County Department of Rehabilitative Services operates the probation function in the District (misdemeanant) Courts outside of Seattle; and the Seattle Municipal Probation Services, a city-funded program, serves the Municipal (misdemeanant) Court. The Federal Probation Service is attached to the Federal Courts, so correctional responsibility is spread across all four levels of government in Seattle.

Seattle and King County governments have been exploring the feasibility of consolidating various services, including those of some special independent service districts. In 1974 the city and county jail operations were combined within the newly created county Department of Rehabilitative Services. While consolidation of probation operations was considered at the same time, the notion was rejected and the Municipal Probation Services Unit continues as an adjunct of the four-judge Municipal Court.

1. *Integrated corrections at the county level.* The centerpiece of the county's new Rehabilitative Services Department is its consolidated jail operations. The former county jail (Unit One) currently handles male felons, pre- and post-trial, and the men's work-release program. The former city jail (Unit Two) accommodates misdemeanants, all females, and the small number of juveniles who are detained in jail. The consolidation reportedly has permitted the elimination of eight positions, of which five were cooks. This was made possible by providing food services from a single kitchen.

A number of interesting programs are represented in this integrated departmental effort, including ROR, social services, an educational program, library services, men's and women's work-release programs, probation and parole services, and mental health and alcoholism services.

ROR. Some seven to eight thousand new felony bookings occur each year in the former county jail. Two-thirds of these are interviewed by probation staff to determine their appropriateness for release on personal recognizance. An analysis of a sample of cases processed from July through September, 1975, suggests that half or more are released, a few on bail. The Court concurs with the probation officer's recommendations about 75 pecent of the time. Approximately 10 percent of those released fail to appear as scheduled.

Social services. A staff of four social services personnel provide supportive services for the inmate population. In-jail services and short-term therapeutic treatment programs are offered. As described in the 1975 departmental annual report, the jail social workers interview all newly booked inmates to:

> "1. Identify individuals whose present needs require special attention and supervision.
> 2. Identify appropriate in-jail and/or community treatment resources and refer special case problems accordingly.
> 3. Assign each newly booked inmate a living area which will maximize his safety and the safety of others. (This decision is critical to control and management of the inmate population.)
> 4. Organize and manage inmate leadership within each population living unit. This is done to afford inmate population members a systematic means of communicating special problems which have arisen after an inmate's introduction into a particular living area. . . .
> 5. Provide inmates information regarding community resources and for selected cases, become involved, upon court request, to the extent of developing a psycho-social diagnostic evaluation and treatment plan recommendation for the presiding judges' consideration.
> 6. Provide individual reality-oriented counseling, the goal being to help the individual accept responsibility for his behavior and to develop positive techniques and skills for dealing with his problems. The social workers also assist the jail psychi-

atrist in diagnosis and treatment of the more severely disturbed and disabled members of the inmate population."[10]

Educational program. An instructional program and supportive counseling services are offered in both units. About 10 percent of the jail population participates in the educational program. Many more apply than finally attend classes because of bail-outs, releases on recognizance, and drop-outs due to classroom work requirements, but the departmental annual report states that 439 people were tested and 350 enrolled in 1975.

> "Classroom activities included intake testing, instruction, post-testing, and follow-up. Educational contact, assessment, and referral for both men and women interested in educational improvement was provided by the program. Vocational couseling maintained contact with inmates in both jail units to provide vocational assessment, testing, and counseling to those requesting service. Coordination and cooperation was continued with rehabilitative services within and outside the jail facility. Five people were transported on temporary release to Seattle Central Community College to take the General Education Development tests. Four passed the tests and were issued high school equivalency certificates."[11]

Library program. The jail library program functions in both units, under the supervision of a professional librarian. The program visits both units twice a week, responds to requests (drawing from the one million volumes of the King County Library), and provides legal reference assistance. Arrangements have been made with a large magazine distributor to contribute magazines preferred by the inmates. Films from the King County collections are provided for the classroom.

Men's work-release program. This program, reportedly one of the best in the country, includes both felony and misdemeanant offenders. The program is housed on a separate floor of the County jail building and thus avoids any commingling with the rest of the population. The program functions at its full capacity of 62 and, at any one time, accommodates one-third or more of the sentenced population of the jail. It operates with a staff of seven.

Women's work-release program. This program serves felons and misdemeanants in two different facilities. Felons are placed in a private, non-profit Women's Community Center, which has a capacity for 18 women and 6 children and also accepts referrals from State and Federal programs. A recently established unit (in the former city jail) can accommodate up to 10 misdemeanants in separate quarters.

Probation and parole services. An integral part of the County Rehabilitative Services Department, the probation and parole staff of 22 (5 are clerical positions) operates from four district offices. In 1975 staff efforts were supplemented by the work of four times as many additional people: 58 volunteers, 23 student interns, and 8 federally funded (CETA-type) positions.

In 1975, referrals from the Courts increased by over 100 percent. Some 3,058 requests for presentence studies resulted in 1,353 referrals for probation. An additional 1,620 were referred for supervision without completion of a presentence report, for a total of 2,973 referrals to probation. These are misdemeanant cases, since felony offenders are processed by the State Probation and Parole Service.

Department head James Coughlin and Probation Chief Sigbjorn Slette state that the presentence report receives major emphasis. All reports are subject to review by supervisory staff. Explicit recommendations regarding needed services are offered and the use of community services is stressed. Follow-up on plan implementation is performed selectively for those cases which seem most in need of assistance. Probation, typically for a period of one year, frequently is combined with jail time and/or a restitution order.

A doubling of referrals to the probation section of the newly reorganized Department of Rehabilitative Services suggests that the service is finding favor with the 21 judges of the 12 District Courts of King County. Probation Chief Slette reports that while referrals have increased from all courts, there continues to be significant variation among them in the extent of use of probation staff.

Mental health and alcoholism services. The processing of mental health and alcoholism cases recently has been subjected to legal reform in Washington. The result has been to substantially increase the responsibility of probation staff in the performance of diagnostic tasks, referral to hospitals and other clinical facilities (for both diagnostic and treatment assistance), and provision or securing of services indicated, case by case.

> "The Involuntary Treatment Division is made up of the manager, nine county-designated mental health professionals, confidential secretary, and an office assistant. Their objectives are:

To provide service 24 hours a day, 7 days a week to investigate all cases referred and to coordinate the setting of hearings and the decision-making process of the legal/medical system as long as the case is legally active.

To encourage as many referrals as possible, to make voluntary use of hospitalization or other treatment plans.

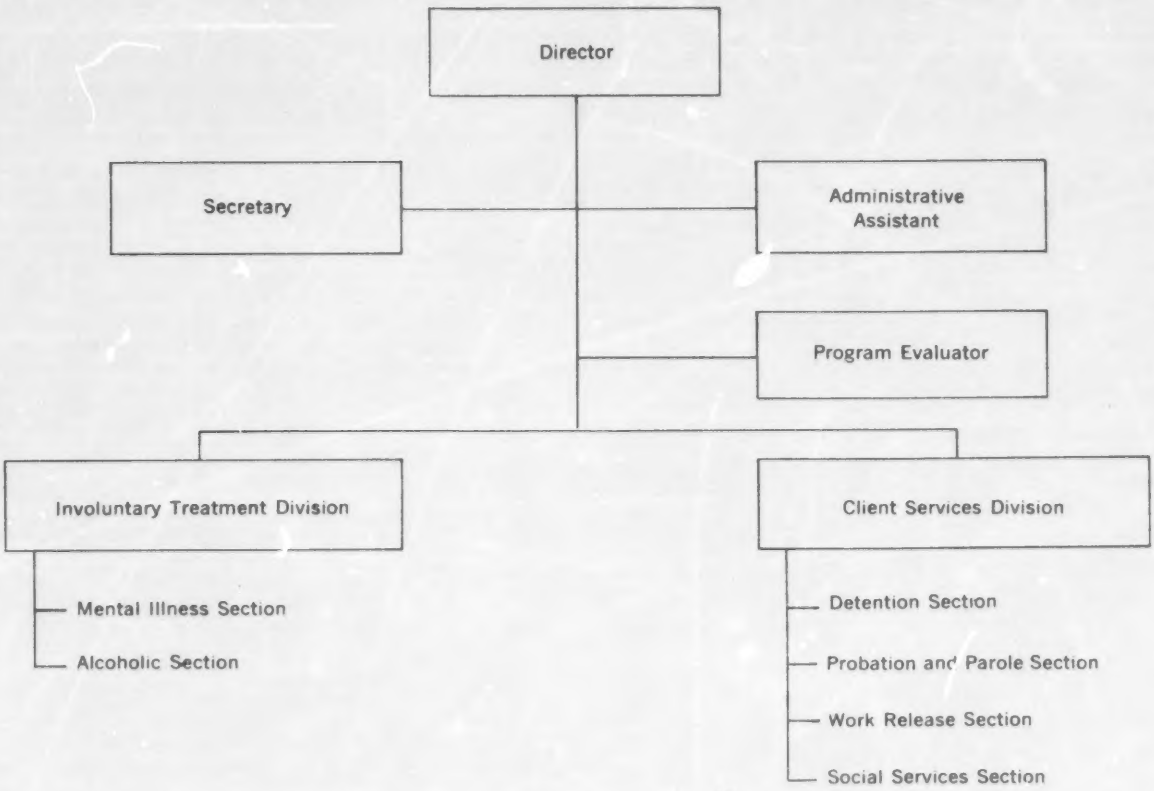
To document a legal case in those situations where hospitalization is ordered."[12]

The 1975 statistical data are interesting. Some 3,900 referrals resulted in the short-term detention (72 hours) of 490 cases, and 225 hearings. Mental health referrals outnumbered alcoholism cases by about six to one. Effective screening and diversion seem apparent.

2. *Advantages of the King County program.* The organization and operation of the King County Rehabilitative Services Department are noteworthy in several significant ways:

- The organizational integration of pretrial services, detention, work and education release, pre- and post-institutional supervision services, and mental health and alcoholism programs seems to make considerable sense and should enhance both the efficiency and effectiveness of all services.
- Throughout America, in cities that are county seats, city and county jails co-exist (frequently facing each other across the street). Duplicate services often are substantially under-used, offering a common example of the inefficiency of overlapping programs. In King County, consolidation of jail operations has permitted the improved classification and segregation of the population, the elimination of some administrative positions, and the economies deriving from the operation of a single kitchen.

Figure 4. King County Department of Rehabilitative Services Organization Chart



- The extensively used OR program, the work/education release program, the educational and library services, and the social services section within the jail are evidence of imaginative and competent leadership and staff execution all too rarely found in the operation of American jails.
- A doubling of workload in the Probation and Parole Unit in 1975 without commensurate increase in staff is being managed by an emphasis on the presentence study and explication of probation treatment elements, the use of community resources, selection of cases to receive follow-up supervision, and the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals in numbers four times as great as the staff.

It seems unfortunate that, with the exception of the city-county jail operation, consolidation of services has been restricted to county functions. These are paralleled by probation services at both city and State levels. Some key staff in both city and county programs apparently view favorably the combination of city and county probation operations. In the meantime, all three levels of government appear to work harmoniously and with mutual respect.

C. The Case of Seattle (Washington): Small But Efficient

The Seattle Municipal Court has had the services of a probation department since 1968. While the staff has grown considerably, it has not kept pace with the workload as new functions have been added and the Court has steadily increased the number of cases referred for assessment and supervision. The Seattle probation department could have served as a model for the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education's Community Resources Management Team (CRMT), discussed in Chapter III, since most of the concepts inherent in the CRMT strategy are represented in this program.

The professional staff of 23 operates under the guidance of Director Thomas Watling and Assistant Director John Nicon. Staff functions are organized into two major staff teams: the Divisions of Assessment and of Community Services. A third division is responsible for treatment and monitoring of alcoholism cases. The organizational chart is reproduced in Figure 10.

1. *Integrated services at the city level.* Two contemporary concepts described in Chapter IV are stressed in the operation of the Municipal Probation Service: team supervision and participatory management. Team supervision has replaced the traditional caseload model.

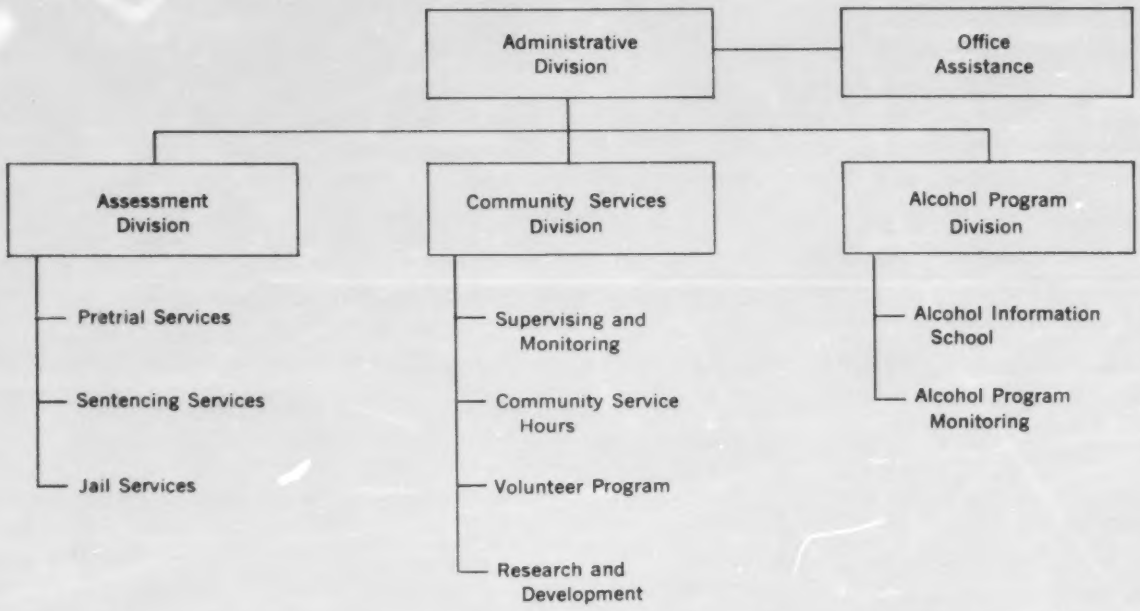
> "Within both Assessment and Community Divisions, staff perform as a team, sharing responsibility for completion of assessments, and in managing the probation caseload. The traditional casework, or caseload per counselor model was abandoned in 1973, in a desire to make more efficient use of staff resources, and decrease recidivism (re-arrest) of probationers under the Court's jurisdiction. Direct counseling or psychotherapy by probation counselors has been replaced by the use of objective criteria for pre and post-trial assessment, and maximum use of community resources to meet identified needs of clients, and an increased expectation of accountability by both clients and staff."[13]

Participatory agreement permits staff input into the decision-making process.

> 'With a dedication to participatory management, MPS staff were taken through a process of developing goals for 1975. After a five-month process in 1974, written goals were finalized. Then, in January of 1975 each staff member, in a joint session with the Director, Assistant Director and Supervisor prepared specific objectives for the year which would serve to guide their work. A review with each staff was held in June, and the process will continue at the same intervals in 1976. Similarly, when problems involving staff are pending, requests for solutions are sought from those closest to the problem area. Total staff meetings are reserved for training or planning purposes, and administrative matters are left with Divisions or team work units whenever possible. Assessment and Community Division meetings are held weekly, and Team Leaders (Director, Assistant Director, Division Supervisors and Lead Secretary) also meet weekly to handle agency-wide issues. With final authority resting with the Director, many decisions are made by other staff members, with the Director's concurrence. The relatively small size of the MPS staff facilitates the communication, which is critical in participatory management. Very seldom are decisions made without staff being at least aware of the

77

Figure 5. Seattle Municipal Probation Service Organization Chart



> problem which required solution and the alternatives being considered."[14]

Assessment Division functions include pretrial diversion (deferred prosecution), pretrial release or release on personal recognizance, screening for eligibility for court-appointed counsel, and development of presentence reports. This staff also provides casework services to those incarcerated in Unit Two of the consolidated jail program and undertakes initial "mental evaluation" studies to determine which cases should be referred for mental health services.

> "The three elements (Diversion, OR Release, and Eligibility Screening) now comprise the MPS Pretrial Services Program. A major accomplishment in 1975 has been the combination of all these functions into a standard screening process. Data obtained in one interview by pretrial screeners, both in jail and out, is available for an early determination of program eligibility and can be used in subsequent interviews for probation services. The process saves time and duplication of effort."[15]

a. *Pretrial services.* Candidates for the diversion program are drawn from those offenders cited by local police in lieu of jail and from those who are incarcerated. Eligibility is limited almost exclusively to first offenders. The diversion period lasts three months, may include performance of "community service hours" or other special conditions, and results in dismissal of the charges at the end of 90 days if successfully completed.

An organized effort to increase awareness of this option within the criminal justice community resulted in nearly a threefold increase in referrals from 1974 to 1975. Program costs of $25 are collected from those deemed able to meet the requirement (about 50 percent). Of 980 persons referred in 1975, 944 were placed in the program. Of the 690 who completed the program during the calendar year, 665 (96.4 percent) met all conditions and were dismissed. Only 25 (3.6 percent) were subject to re-arrest or otherwise failed to meet the conditions imposed.

The Release on Personal Recognizance program screened 6,192 defendants in 1975 and effected the release of 3,728 (60.2 percent). The number who failed to appear for hearing jumped to 12.4 percent, as compared to 7.9 percent in 1974. A point scale system is used.

b. *Sentencing services.* Presentence reports were completed on 1,939 offenders out of custody and 270 in custody. Additionally, 301 mental evaluations were completed on in-custody cases. The high ratio

of noncustody to custody cases undoubtedly reflects the large percentage release on personal recognizance, plus the use of citations by police in lieu of lock-up. An unusual achievement is reflected in the three-day response time set for in-custody presentence and mental evaluation studies.

Community Services Division staff handle probation supervision and monitoring, the community service hours program, the volunteer program, and research and development.

c. *Supervision and monitoring.* Probation supervision and monitoring utilize the team approach to caseload management and classification of probationers into high and low supervision categories.

> "Implemented in 1973, the team approach to caseload management has guided the community team functions of interviewing, reporting probationers, maintaining contact with community agencies, evaluating new probation referrals, and preparing cases for review, bench warrants and dismissal."[16]

Developed within the department, the classification form objectifies the classification process and determines which cases shall receive the preponderance of staff attention. The rating tool places approximately 60 percent of the caseload in the high-supervision category and the remainder in the low-supervision category. Staff feel that the validity of this classification is supported by the fact that the rearrest rate among those classified as "high" exceeds by some 70 percent those classified as "low."

d. *Community service hours.* The Community Service Hours program offers a sentencing alternative in which the defendant may be involved in a community service task viewed as beneficial to both the offender and the community.

> "Either in lieu of a fine, or as a condition of probation, defendants contribute a prescribed number of volunteer hours to nonprofit or charitable organizations. . . . Each agency provides supervision of the defendant, and provides written reports of completion or non-completion of hours to MPS. Once assigned, the defendant bears the responsibility for completion. In 1975, a 'conversion rate' of $3.00 per hour was adopted so that defendants who became able may be allowed to pay their fine at that rate. . . . The ongoing need for volunteers in many community agencies has also served to maintain this program."[17]

Since the Municipal Probation Service depends almost exclusively upon community resources to provide services to clients, the assignment of offenders to volunteer work in the community represents a partial repayment for services requested from community agencies. The feedback provided by agencies receiving the service also constitutes a variety of supervision or surveillance as well as insights into probationer attitudes and work habits.

e. *Volunteer program.* In any one month some 50 volunteers (nearly three times the number of line staff) are involved in various aspects of court, assessment, and community service activities. Volunteer assistance comes primarily from the colleges and universities of the area.

f. *Alcoholism monitoring and treatment.* Defendants with alcohol-related problems are subject to one of two optional dispositions. The Probation Service has one specialist who offers a four-session Alcohol Information School for offenders referred by the court. This specialist also monitors those cases given suspended sentences on the condition that they participate in a community treatment program and acts as a consultant to other staff members and to the Assessment and Community Services teams in their handling of cases involving alcohol-related problems. Some 2,000 cases were referred to the program in 1975. An additional 100 cases per month were referred to other community treatment services subject to monitoring by the program specialist.

g. *Information for management decisions.* The commitment of department administrators to the notion that management program decisions and resource allocation must be based on valid information is evident from the assignment of one full-time professional position to the task of generating data on workload volume and outcome. In the face of a heavy and continually increasing workload, the position represents a commitment of some 5 percent of the workforce to this task. Monthly reports on each facet of the program are distributed to court and probation staffs; these are supplemented intermittently by special studies, as time permits. For example, a study was projected for 1976 to compare the performance of first-offender probationers with those subjected to the diversion alternative.

2. *Advantages of the Seattle program.* There is an aura of established local bureaucracy about the crowded quarters housing Seattle's Municipal Probation Service, yet closer examination reveals a sophisticated, streamlined, progressive, and wholly contemporary probation process. The program is noteworthy for the following reasons:

- The agency's capability of handling a group of

discrete but interrelated programs of high volume with a limited staff would seem possible only with a well-organized staff of high energy and substantial belief in the logic and efficacy of their objectives and methods. This conviction probably is a by-product of the program's participative management style.

- The "peeling off" of successive layers of the large misdemeanant intake by sorting into risk groups the heterogeneous mixture caught up in the justice system exemplifies the most rational kind of correctional strategy. A substantial portion of the intake is cited and not incarcerated; a second "layer" is released on personal recognizance shortly after confinement; still another (first-offender) group is diverted with minimal investment of court or probation staff time. Those moving beyond the adjudication stage are categorized into "high" and "low" supervision groups, with the minimal risk group receiving minimal investment of agency resources. And finally, the fact that information collected for each decision point is accumulated rather than duplicated contributes to efficiency and probably enhances effectiveness.
- The "brokering" notion, with almost exclusive dependence on community resources for the provision of direct client services, is surely the option of choice in this minimally staffed, large volume operation. Assignment of the offender to the performance of "community service" provides an excellent alternative to the payment of fines.
- Use of the staff-team concept, in both the assessment and community supervision units, appears to work well, and should make for greater uniformity and consistency in the decision-making process.
- The commitment of a full-time position, plus some assistance from line officers, to the information collection and analysis function seems highly commendable. As Probation Chief Watling notes, the greater workload and the thinner the staffing ratio, the greater the need for objective information, consistently generated, to serve as the basis for program monitoring and administrative decision-making.

D. The Case of San Diego County: Consolidation of Correctional Services

More than a million-and-a-half people live in San Diego County in the extreme southwest corner of California. In recent years the steady influx of residents has pushed the County into the State's second position in population; only Los Angeles County is now larger. The County also serves a major portion of the Pacific Fleet and caters to the needs of a large volume of tourists throughout the year. Its southern boundary is the Mexican border, over which flows a continuous traffic in both hard and soft drugs. In addition, the unemployment rate, which has consistently exceeded both State and national averages, is currently over 10 percent. These facts help to account for rising crime in San Diego County which, while somewhat lower than the statewide average, is increasing at a rate about three times that of the State.

Governed by a five-member Board of Supervisors whose legislative and fund-appropriating decisions are executed by a County Administrator, the area has long enjoyed a reputation for competent local government. The tradition of "good government" probably accounts for the existence of an adult-juvenile Probation Department which, in recent years, has emerged as one of the better operations in the country.

1. *Consolidated correctional services.* The Probation Department in San Diego County consists of the following elements: Adult Probation Services; Juvenile Probation Services; Juvenile Institutional Services; and Adult Institutional Services. Probation field services are administered by Directors, who also operate the 12 institutions.

The Department employs some 1,500 workers, has an adult probation caseload of 15,000, a juvenile caseload of some 4,400, plus some 500 adults in 6 camp-type institutions and 2 in-town work release centers, and nearly 500 youths in 5 juvenile institutions and 2 day-care centers. Diversion strategies operate at both adult and juvenile levels. A sophisticated ROR program reviews arrested adults for release eligibility and/or bail reduction. A juvenile Detention Control Unit has contrived to keep population in check in the face of increased referral; and seven youth service bureaus scattered throughout the County have demonstrated the capability for reducing juvenile arrests and referrals to the court. Finally, over 4,500 San Diego residents have participated in the Volunteers In Probation (VIP) program since it was organized in 1970. In 1976, some 90,488 hours of citizen service were contributed in both field and institution operations.

Probation in San Diego County includes a broad spectrum of diverse correctional activities. The only correctional services which are outside the province of the County's Probation Department are those of

the State and federal juvenile and adult institutions and parole. The sheriff continues to operate the central County jail, primarily as an intake and detention center for unsentenced prisoners.

a. *Alternatives to jail.* The police agencies and sheriff's office of San Diego County make substantial use of citations in lieu of arrest and incarceration for selected misdemeanant offenses. The sheriff's staff also may release certain misdemeanants after their delivery to the jail. Both types of release are identified as "Promise to Appear." As indicated in Table 3, an analysis of arrests in San Diego City in 1974, approximately one-third of all arrested persons were released in this manner. Only 13.5 percent of San Diego City arrestees were detained to the point of final disposition.

Table 3 also reflects the substantial reduction in jail populations effected by the Probation Department's release on recognizance program. The ROR Program has operated in San Diego since the mid-1960s, initially dealing only with misdemeanants. Currently some 14 staff members, 8 of whom are paraprofessionals, operate the program 7 days per week. The effort focuses on those booked on felony charges since misdemanants have been reasonably well screened by the police agencies' Promise to Appear programs. Recommendations pertaining to release on bail are made on some who do not meet eligibility requirements for ROR (e.g., escapees or prior failures to appear). So that the program may operate without interruption during the weekend, criminal court judges are available by telephone on a rotating basis to approve staff recommendations.

The program functions at an annual cost of some $250,000. This is offset by savings conservatively estimated by the Department to be about $235,000 in jail costs, court costs, and County attorney charges.

b. *Diversion programs.* Three formal diversion efforts operate within the Adult Probation Division. Now in its third year, a deferred prosecution project targets on first-offenders, both misdemeanants and felons, accused of property crimes. The Department's 1975 Annual Report states:

> "In 1975, the Adult Property Crime Deferred Prosecution Project (95% financed by federal and state funds) reached its full complement of one supervising officer, six probation officers and two clerical employees. During the year, the unit screened 1,158 (up from 563 the year before) offenders referred by the District Attorney and City Attorney. 747 were accepted and placed under informal supervision compared to 395 the year previously. Since the start of the project two years ago, 630 have successfully completed the program while only 49 have been returned for further criminal proceedings, representing a 92.8 success rate."[18]

In recent years the California Legislature has provided for the diversion of first offenders or minor offenders who violate drug abuse statutes. Known as Penal Code Section 1000, the new law has significantly reduced the number of persons coming into court. In San Diego County in 1975, some 3,227 individuals were referred to this diversion effort. The strategy relies heavily upon the use of non-justice agencies, public and private, to provide educational or treatment resources. Some 80 different agencies and organizations in the County offer services to drug or alcohol abusers. The Department reports that approximately 85 percent of those referred for treatment are successfully terminated. San Diego

TABLE 3. *Pretrial Detention/Release of San Diego City 1974 Arrests (Estimates)*

Pre-Trial Detention/Release Action	Total Arrests			Misdemeanants		
	Felony & Misd.	All Misdems.	Felonies	Public Intox.	Misdems. Drk. Driv.	Other Misdems.
Total Arrests	42,504	31,504	11,000	8,500	6,475	16,529
Released By Police Or Sheriff, No Prosecution	11,190	8,190	3,000	7,950	40	200
Released By Police On Promise To Appear	7,068	7,068			4,185	2,883
Released By Sheriff On Promise To Appear	6,000	6,000			2,000	4,000
ROR By Court	4,000	1,000	3,000			
Bailed Out	7,500	5,500	2,000			
Released To Other Custody	1,000	500	500			
Held Until Disposition Of Charges	5,746	3,246	2,500			
Percent Held	13.5	10.3	22.7			

was selected in 1975 as the site for one of the many LEAA-funded programs identified as TASC (Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime), which seeks the diversion of selected drug abuse cases. The 1975 Annual Report reflects the department's early experience with the new diversion effort:

> "San Diego's Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime grant (90% Federal funding, 10% county funding) was implemented during May, 1975. It is directed at the earlier identification of drug-dependent individuals in the criminal justice system, the placement of those interested in treatment, and the monitoring of their progress so that this information may be made available for consideration by the court at the time of sentencing. TASC referrals are received from the courts, the jail, probation department, and other sources. During 1975, approximately 57 referrals were screened per month with eleven persons per month being placed in treatment."[19]

Table 4 summarizes the statistical data pertaining to the department's diversion programs in 1974, prior to the advent of TASC.

TABLE 4. *Diversion Programs in San Diego City and County Preliminary Estimates 1974*

Criminal Justice System Action	City of San Diego			San Diego County
		Prop. Crimes		
	Public Intox.	Misd.	Felony	Drug Offenses
Encountered (1)	13,500			
Police Diversion (1)	5,000			
Arrested	8,500	2,300	2,850	7,500
Prosecutable (2)	550	2,000	2,000	5,500
Considered for D.P. (3)		564	180	
Accorded D.P.		408	133	
Term., No. Pros. (4)		121	34	
Pros. Reinstated (5)		10	3	
Reins. as % of Terms		7.6	7.9	
Still in Program		277	96	
Considered for PC 1000 (6)				3,600
Accorded PC 1000				2,800
Term., No. Pros.				1,754
Pros. Reinstated				486
Reins. as % of Terms				22.0
Still in Program				550
Prosecution Pressed (7)	550	1,592	1,867	2,700
% of Prosecutables	100.0	79.6	93.3	49.1
% of Arrests	6.5	69.2	65.5	36.0

(1) Includes intoxicated persons encountered and escorted to detox center; no arrest report filed.

(2) Many cases, primarily public intoxication, are released by police without referral to prosecutor. Others are deemed too weak by prosecutor for him to proceed.

(3) D.P. = deferred prosecution for first offender minor property offenders.

(4) Termination (successful)—no prosecution.

(5) Prosecution—reinstated as a result of rearrest or failure to meet agreed upon conditions.

(6) P.C. 100 = diversion of less serious first offender drug cases.

(7) Not necessarily to full conclusion.

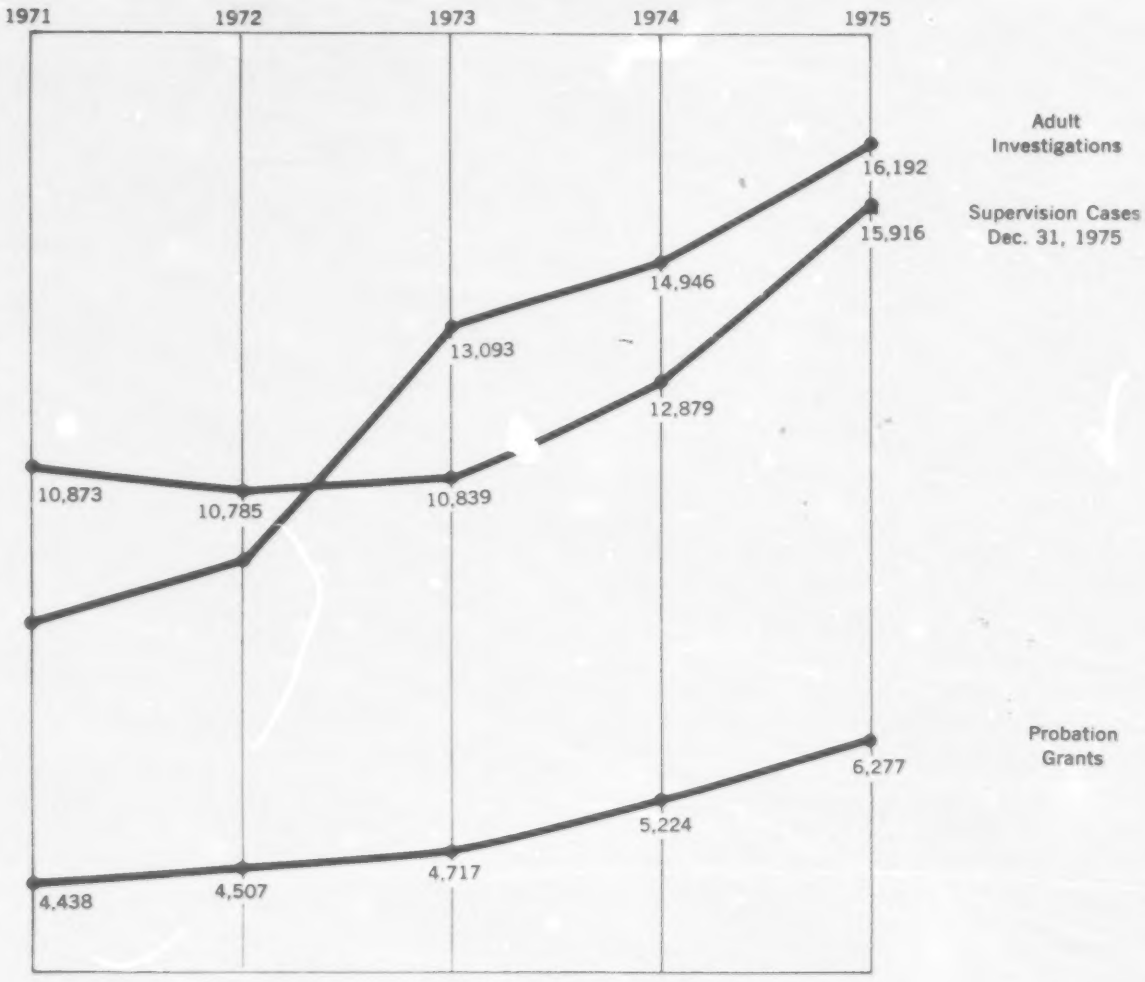
c. *Adult probation supervision and investigation.* As in most large probation agencies the investigation and supervision functions are separated administratively. In San Diego County the investigation responsibility has been subject to further specialization: an "intake unit" performs the initial processing of cases, interviews the offender, initiates the necessary clearances with police and state identification bureaus, and then assigns the case to an "investigating" officer for completion of the report.

California law requires that all felony cases receive a probation report if the subject is eligible for probation; non-eligible cases are referred at the discretion of the court, as are all misdemeanant cases. The statute provides that the probation officer shall make a recommendation to the court on all cases investigated. It is important to note that the reports are not treated as confidential documents; they are available to defense counsel who may take issue with the data, its interpretation, conclusions, and recommendations.

In San Diego County, as in many other jurisdictions within and outside California, the misdemeanant probation caseload has grown rapidly in recent years. This suggests that the courts are finding the probation report an important adjunct to intelligent decision-making and increasingly coming to view probation as an appropriate disposition in misdemeanant cases. In the 11-month period ending May, 1976, the increase in misdemeanant probation grants over the same period in the preceding year was roughly 450 cases; for felonies the increase was 235. Some cases (primarily misdemeanants) are referred exclusively for assistance and monitoring of the collection of installment fines and/or restitution. However, in San Diego County, cases placed on probation following a "failure to provide" conviction recently have been transferred to the District Attorney's office for supervision of the collection process, much to the relief of probation officers.

d. *Probation subsidy.* Since 1965 California counties have been encouraged to expand their use of probation and to reduce the use of State institutions through the medium of a State subsidy. When commitment rates decline, the counties collect approximately $4,000 for each case by which their previous rate is reduced. These earnings typically are invested in the development of intensive supervision units, in which caseloads are reduced roughly by one-half. In San Diego, as throughout California,

Figure 6. Adult Probation Growth in San Diego County, Misdemeanant and Felony



subsidy earnings have dropped, apparently because of a significant increase in the incidence of violence, which has resulted in an increase in imprisonment. The following excerpt from the 1975 Annual Report describes the program as it operated in that year.

> "The number of probationers served by subsidy was 681 or 241 less than the 922 supervised in 1974. These cases were supervised from decentralized community based offices.
>
> The remaining subsidy units are located in high-crime areas and the staff is responsible for supervising the more difficult offenders who reside in the vicinity. . . .

Diagnosis and treatment are based on the I-Level (Interpersonal Maturity) Classification System supplemented by such treatment disciplines as conjoining family therapy, transactional analysis, individual and family casework, group counseling, vocational counseling and tutoring. Training for each officer in these treatment designs averages four hours per week. Supportive services include: psychiatric and psychological services, the assistance of a counselor in vocational rehabilitation, a research analyst, and the help of a number of consultants. The probation officers in these units work varying hours, many evenings

and weekends, in order to be more readily available to the probationer and his family."[20]

By 1975 San Diego's subsidy earnings had declined to approximately one-third of the peak year of 1972. This reduction in subvention earnings is attributable almost entirely to increases in adult commitments, which in turn have resulted from increases in the incidence of serious crime, particularly violent crime. These developments reflect an inflexibility in the California probation subsidy legislation which makes no provision for changes in the amount or nature of crime in the community. The Minnesota law, in contrast, appears more realistic, since it does not penalize counties for increases in the longer-term commitments for serious or violent crime.

e. *Jail facilities.* For many years the County has housed a substantial majority of its sentenced prisoners in a series of camp-like facilities. Previously operated by an independent governmental unit, the institutional operation was transferred to the Probation Department in 1973. The sheriff operates the central County jail, in which some 70 percent of the population consists of detainees awaiting trial or disposition. The balance includes those thought to require a high degree of security, prisoners with holds, and transient cases.

At the time of the site visit some 484 men and 27 women were assigned to 6 forestry-camp facilities and 2 in-town work-release centers, one for men and one for women. Approximately 47 percent were felony offenders. The average sentence is 190 days, the last 90 of which may be spent in the work-release program. The institutions vary in capacity from a high of 95 to a low of 30 (in the women's work-release program). One camp serves as the reception center where prisoners are interviewed, tested, and classified, a process which requires three to five days.

One of the smaller facilities (40–45 capacity) is used as an "adjustment center" for the discipline of prisoners and also provides a 90-day treatment program for residents viewed as disturbed. The adjustment center was conceived as an alternative to the return of disciplinary cases to the County jail. Another facility features an educational and vocational training program. Culinary arts, janitorial training, and bicycle repair programs are offered along with academic instruction. Three camps are primarily work-oriented, with residents assigned to state and federal fire fighting and prevention activities. Some G.E.D. (General Educational Development) instruction also is offered. The men's 94-bed, in-town work-release facility also provides an education release option, as does the women's unit. The eight relatively small operations permit an unusual flexibility for the classification and segregation of prisoners, while providing a climate vastly superior to that generally prevailing in central jails.

f. *Variations on confinement.* The San Diego courts have long made use of sentences involving weekend incarceration. Only the first weekend is spent in jail, where the offender undergoes assessment and classification. Thereafter he is transported to one of the camp facilities for a work assignment. The program has the incidental advantage of easing the weekend crowding in the central jail, which is operating at or above its planned capacity.

In summer 1976 another option was introduced. Court may now order weekend work assignments, without overnight incarceration, in the Public Service Work Program. Probationers are directed to report on Saturday mornings to the in-town work-release center, where they are organized into crews under the supervision of paraprofessional probation assistants and undertake maintenance of county parks, beaches and roads. They are provided a sack lunch and returned to the center at 4:00 p.m. Both men and women are accommodated and the supervisors of the crews are also of both sexes. Commitments have varied in length from one weekend to 21. It is anticipated that this alternative will larely replace the weekend confinement option. A County Parole Board, consisting of a probation officer, a sheriff's deputy, and a representative of the County Board of Supervisors, can effect the early release of those confined in jail and the camp system.

g. *Personnel practices.* For several years camp operations have been staffed primarily by probation officers who meet the same college education and experience requirements as those performing investigation and supervision functions. Probation assistants, who are high-school graduates, cover night shifts and handle less demanding jobs. An additional class, identified as County Aide, is utilized primarily as a means of employing student interns on a paid basis. A strong Affirmative Action program prevails in the department, with service directors required to report monthly to the department head on their success in achieving program objectives. The "generalist" concept is said to characterize departmental staff roles. While a variety of specialist functions have been identified, it is departmental policy to shift workers from one function to another—field and institution, investigation and supervision, adult and juvenile assignments. The experienced worker gen-

erally is qualified for promotional opportunities across the various functions. A Staff Training Academy, opened during the current year largely with federal funds, will provide initial orientation and training for both institution and field staff and further on-the-job training, eventually in specialist functions. A portion of the money is invested in relief staff, primarily to provide post coverage in the institutions.

h. *A staff productivity study*, ordered by the county administration in an experimental effort to find ways of reducing county operating costs, has focused on the adult probation operation in recent months. Performed by county personnel working under the guidance of a national management consultant organization, the survey examined (through employee questionnaires, time studies, etc.) the time requirements for each task and function, concluding that there was substantial room for improvement in operational efficiency. The study proposed that its recommendations be implemented incrementally over three fiscal years and, through substantially increased officer workloads, projected an eventual reduction of roughly one-fourth of the present staff of approximately 400. The proposal takes account of the different time requirements for processing or supervising differing degrees of risk and/or case complexity, but proposes that investigative workloads generally should be increased from 14.7 per month to 19 and general supervision loads from 115 to 179. Whether all study recommendations will be fully implemented is still unknown, but apparently a start will be made. It will be interesting to see what new strategies the department evolves to cope with the proposed increases in workloads.

i. *Volunteer program*. The managers of Volunteers in Probation in San Diego believe that theirs is currently the largest volunteer corrections program in the country. Started in 1970 with the assistance of LEAA funds to deal with the problem of insufficient staff, the program was pushed with considerable vigor. At the end of five years (1974–1975) approximately 1,000 county residents were involved in a wide variety of activities throughout the department. An "amplification of service" ratio of 14:1 was calculated (i.e., 14 hours of volunteer service for each hour of staff supervision and training time invested).

Currently, staff committed to program management also are charged with supervision of the student intern group. As of spring 1976, some 303 volunteers and 90 student interns were involved in the program.

A private, non-profit corporation, Volunteers In Probation, Inc., has been organized as an independent entity to handle certain contributed funds and to deal particularly with volunteers from the professional community. Since the program recruits and trains up to 50 new volunteers per month, over time literally thousands of the county's citizens will have been involved in this supportive role with the probation program. Clearly they constitute a kind of constituency that few public agencies enjoy and provide an excellent example of the kinds of "environmental linkages" discussed in Chapter IV.

2. *Advantages of the San Diego program*. Three California County Probation Departments (Fresno, San Mateo, and San Diego) were visited in the course of the field work undertaken for this report. Each of the three provides illustrations of good programs and administrative practices. Selection of San Diego County for presentation here resulted primarily from the example it offers of the successful integration of a variety of correctional programs under a single administrative direction. No other jurisdiction visited offered quite the same scope or comprehensiveness. It seems to provide a model worthy of emulation for the following reasons:

- In reaching into the pretrial area with ROR and diversion programs, the department is developing sets of services which are relatively new to the criminal justice field. These are offered within an administrative framework which has an established relationship with courts, and thus enjoys a credibility that should enhance judicial use and support of the services. The statistical data suggest that generally effective screening of the heterogenous intake is effected and that the elimination of inappropriate cases is achieved. In spite of a steadily worsening crime picture and a growing workload, the use of incarceration is being reasonably controlled.
- Operation of the camp system by the County's corrections agency makes feasible the segregation of populations, programmatic specialization among the network of facilities, and ready movement into community-based, work and education release programs for both men and women.
- The large, multi-faceted volunteer program, the extensive use of community agencies and resources for drug abusers, and the use of student interns demonstrate an awareness of supports in the surrounding environment and a capability for establishing linkages with them.
- Perhaps most encouraging is the fact that this large, mature bureaucracy has shown a capacity for avoiding the rigidity that characterizes many established public agencies. That the agency

has moved to incorporate new functions and services and to test new concepts and programs is evidence of its flexibility and adaptability. The crucial test may come if the department is forced to reduce staff as a result of the productivity study.

E. Summary

The community corrections programs described in this chapter were selected for their success in coordinating a range of programs and services into a comprehensive strategy, providing examples of progressive practices within an integrated administrative structure. They are illustrative of many of the principles and practices discussed throughout the report: integration and consolidation of services to achieve efficient, effective, non-duplicative service delivery; developing and maintaining linkages with the surrounding community through citizen participation and optimal use of private agencies; a programmatic emphasis on alternatives to incarceration; and the flexibility and imagination to experiment with new organizational and management styles and correctional practices.

REFERENCES AND NOTES—CHAPTER V

1. U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Corrections*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.
2. David Borkman, *et al.*, *Community-based Corrections in Des Moines: an Exemplary Project*, Washington, D.C., LEAA, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, November, 1976.
3. *Corrections Magazine*, March/April, 1976.
4. Probationed Offenders Rehabilitation and Training, *Sixth Annual Report*, November 19, 1975.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Minnesota Corrections Department, *Annual Report*, 1975.
8. Donald J. Thalheimer, *Cost Analysis of Correctional Standards: Half-way Houses*, prepared by the American Bar Association for the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, vol. 1, October, 1975, vol. 2, November, 1975.
9. Newgate programs initially were established in the prison systems of Minnesota, Oregon, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, and the Federal Institution at Ashland, Kentucky.
10. King County Rehabilitative Services Department, *Annual Report, 1975*.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. Seattle Municipal Probation Services, *Annual Report, 1975*.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. San Diego County Probation Department, *Annual Report, 1975*.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*

86

CHAPTER VI. AN OVERVIEW

Throughout the United States, probation and parole—the traditional alternatives to penal incarceration—are in a state of transition. While much of the field remains essentially as it was ten or twenty years ago, there are a number of new developments and some which had just begun a decade ago have assumed the character of established practice. The movement to expand and improve upon non-custodial correctional alternatives, which was perhaps most vital during the 1960s and early 70s, is still very evident today. While recent statistics show an apparent resurgence in the use of incarceration—(during the 3-year period ending January 1, 1976, state prison populations increased by a staggering 30 percent)[1]—this tendency vies with the opposing movement to expand the use of community-based alternatives.

It is probably safe to conclude that probation and parole will continue to evolve throughout the 1970s and 1980s. To date their evolution has been characterized by such developments as the expansion and elaboration of alternative measures for dealing with offenders outside prison walls and for diverting certain types of accused and convicted persons from the criminal justice system; the proliferation of arrangements for providing various services before trial, combined with efforts to avoid the pretrial detention of as many persons as can be safely released; the involvement of private agencies and citizens, as well as non-correctional public agencies, in the community correction process through the use of volunteers and the purchase of services; and a concomitant adoption of a new stance by the community corrections agency which stresses resource brokerage and advocacy rather than direct delivery of all services to offenders.

Many other modifications in the organization and management of the community corrections agency and in the content and structure of its programs and services have been experimentally introduced and some have been widely adopted. These developments have been a response to the scarcity of resources in the public sector generally and specifically in corrections, but they have been designed also to increase the effectiveness of correctional strategies. The use of volunteers and paraprofessionals, for example, which has become common practice in many American probation and parole agencies, not only adds to the resources available to the corrections effort, but may enhance the effectiveness of correctional services both by eliciting greater community support and by providing the offender with non-official contacts and experiences with which he presumably can better identify. Similarly, screening, classification, and differential treatment—the cornerstones of progressive community corrections in recent years—are intended both to optimize the use of correctional resources by directing costly services to those most in need of them and to upgrade their effectiveness by matching individual offenders with appropriate correctional responses. Most of the major thrusts of correctional reform in the past ten years have been directed toward the same dual purpose of conserving limited correctional resources and maximizing effectiveness in their use.

Success of correctional reforms. It must be acknowledged that efforts to upgrade community corrections have had mixed results. Probation and parole agencies have had some success in sorting out those offenders who are most in need of supervision, in locating and encouraging the development of community services to meet identified needs, in fostering community involvement and support for correctional activities and cooperation among criminal justice agencies, and in modifying some of their operations to permit more flexible and appropriate caseload management. The continued vitality of reform efforts, so evident in many of the field sites visited in the course of this project, offers much hope for the future of community corrections. Yet there also are indications which are less encouraging. Most obvious are the findings of recent examinations of evaluative studies which have led some to conclude that no correctional treatment mode has any decisive impact on the subsequent behavior of offenders.[2] Added to this is the fact that, despite some

imaginative efforts to overcome them, many of the problems which have long plagued correctional agencies still are unresolved.

Some of these problems are particular to probation and parole. Others are familiar to organizations or to public service agencies in general. The former include the lack of a coherent and widely accepted objective or set of objectives for community corrections, the difficulties of impacting offender attitudes or behaviors in a community setting over which correctional staff have little or no control, and the need to handle growing workloads, often with no adequate increase in staff. The problems which community corrections agencies share with other organizations include those of structuring an agency network without duplication or service gaps, meeting the demand for accountability without sacrificing local autonomy and flexibility, balancing the benefits of decentralization with those of central control, and adapting to a changing environment and shifting public demands while maintaining organizational integrity.

Such problems are easily noted and many more could be listed. Their satisfactory resolution, of course, will not be so readily accomplished. The fragmentation of the criminal justice system, the duplication of some services, and the virtual absence of others have been highlighted by the major study commissions over the past decade. While some jurisdictions have taken steps to consolidate correctional services or to add coherence by improving relationships among service components, in general probation and parole agencies still operate within a criminal justice "non-system" the parts of which are organizationally, administratively, and functionally uncoordinated. And, despite repeated efforts to specify the proper goals of community corrections, their mission, within this loose arrangement, is rarely defined in operational terms or clearly understood and communicated. The varied and often conflicting goals of rehabilitation, punishment, deterrence, and control are alternately—or simultaneously—served and violated as staff attempt to keep up with changes in public expectations and administrative directives or simply retreat to the comparatively safe ground of "business as usual."

Need for accountability. Probation and parole agencies, however, gain little protection by attempting to keep a low profile and ignoring the controversy and criticism which surrounds them. New demands are being placed on all of the public services by taxpayers and their representatives who are coming to expect higher returns on their investments and a voice in decisions on how scarce public monies will be spent. Pressures on community corrections agencies may be somewhat more intense than those experienced by other social services because of the emotion-laden quality of the problems with which they deal. Public fears of crime and criminals lend a special urgency to demands for more effective management of those who break the law. Police, courts, and institutional corrections also are targets of such demands, but probation and parole—which deal with convicted offenders in the community setting—often are expected to meet even higher standards of performance and accountability.

The growing conviction that "nothing works" already is having some impact on the operations of probation and parole. Parole currently is receiving the harshest criticism and in some states its abolition is being considered or has been essentially achieved.[3] Probation still is the most commonly used sentencing option, but it has not escaped attack by those who would restrict its use if success rates cannot be improved. Questions of effectiveness thus cannot be ignored, but the evidence must be carefully weighed and simplistic or hasty conclusions avoided.

A. Does Community Corrections "Work"?

For the past two or three decades, researchers have attempted to evaluate correctional programs and activities to determine how well they work. For the most part their many reports and papers are widely scattered, but there have been several efforts to assemble, organize, and assess the results of selected types of correctional research. Such "evaluations of evaluations" importantly contribute to overall knowledge about correctional effectiveness by bringing together the results of numerous evaluative studies. They are especially useful if they also assess the quality of the design and conduct of individual studies and their comparability.

The findings of some of the better known reviews of correctional research have led to the now popular notion that no correctional treatment is effective. Bailey's review of studies conducted between 1940 and 1960 led him to conclude that while reports of successful outcomes were common, such optimism generally was unwarranted in view of the quality of the research. His judgment was that "evidence supporting the efficacy of correctional treatment is slight, inconsistent, and of questionable reliability."[4] Robison and Smith, who reviewed the findings of studies of probation, prison, and parole programs in California, concluded that differences in outcomes were attributable to initial differences in offenders processed and to characteristics of the reporting

83

methods used by correctional agencies. They found "no evidence to support any program's claim to superior rehabilitative efficacy."[5] Ward examined the results of evaluative research in California corrections over the past 15 or 20 years, noting repeated failures to demonstrate conclusively that positive gains derived from any of the varieties of treatment studied.[6] Martinson assembled a collection of studies which rigorously assessed any kind of treatment applied to convicted offenders. While he has since revised his position to some extent, his main conclusion, which has received wide publicity, was that "there is very little evidence in these studies that any prevailing mode of correctional treatment has a decisive effect in reducing recidivism of convicted offenders."[7]

These and other reviews of correctional research[8] seem to indicate that correctional programs simply do not work. But is such a conclusion justified? Are there other possible explanations for the absence of positive findings from correctional research? Do we know enough to conclude that "nothing works"?

Several observations can be made regarding the implications of negative findings from correctional research. First, and possibly most important, correctional research has concentrated heavily on evaluation of correctional programs in terms of a single criterion of effectiveness—the ability of "treatment" to reduce offender recidivism. While this may be an important indicator of success, it is at least debatable whether corrections should be evaluated solely on this limited basis, especially at a time when there is no broad consensus on the proper goals of corrections and little evidence that any of its ill-defined objectives is realistically attainable. Second, not all of the results of correctional treatment research have been decidedly negative. In many cases, certain types of treatment have been successful with some proportion of the offender population.[9] It could be argued that the meaning of negative findings is not that no correctional treatment works but that no treatment is effective with all offenders. And third, the persistent failure to show that any approach is effective may derive from weaknesses in correctional research rather than the deficiencies of the treatment studied. Although the quality of correctional research appears to have improved some over time, a substantial portion of research in this field has been characterized by deficiencies in design as well as in data analysis and interpretation.[10] Martinson himself has observed that "it is just possible that some of our treatment programs *are* working to some extent, but that our research is so bad that it is incapable of telling." Questions involving the effectiveness of community corrections thus cannot be definitively answered until correctional research can be depended upon to produce reliable and useful results.

1. *Improving evaluative research.* Correctional research is a relatively new discipline compared to research in other fields. A generation ago studies of the effectiveness of correctional programs and processes were centered primarily in several universities and a few progressive correctional agencies. Today, however, strong pressures for evaluation and commitments to evaluative research are evident everywhere and corrections appears to be facing an evaluation crisis. According to one writer, the demand for program and system evaluation has exceeded the research capabilities of corrections as well as the state of the evaluative art.[11] This situation, unfortunately, has resulted in a large quantity of hastily conducted, poor quality studies—what Berkowitz has called "junk" research.[12] If corrections is to benefit from research and meet the demand for evaluation of its programs, both correctional agencies and the field of evaluation will have to alter their positions to some extent. Corrections will have to offer a more hospitable climate for genuine evaluative research and evaluation will have to produce more operationally useful results.

In a volume intended to give practical direction to evaluative research in corrections, Adams outlines the current status of correctional research, the impact which evaluation has had on correctional practice, the various research methods and strategies available, and the ways in which evaluative research in corrections might be improved.[13] Comparing research in corrections with that of other fields, Adams finds that evaluative research in corrections actually may be making "a commendable showing, given the difficulties of the context in which it must work and the newness of the greater part of the evaluation efforts." Even in private industry, a large proportion of research projects do not "pay off" in commercial success. Failure rates of research in courts, law enforcement, welfare, employment, and education also appear to be higher than in the corrections field. Disenchantment with evaluative research in corrections, therefore, may be a product of the relatively greater pressures for evaluation in the corrections field—pressures which Adams observes are "one of the penalties of being, in a sense, the Cinderella (without a magic slipper) among social agencies."

Favorable comparisons with other fields, however, offer little comfort to correctional administrators, who, under pressures to produce evidence of program effectiveness, are dismayed by the repeated

failure of evaluative research to produce results that are desirable or even useful. Research reports almost invariably conclude with a call for "more and better research." But what kinds of research would be "better"? How could evaluative research be made to serve the needs of corrections?

Several ways in which correctional research might be improved are suggested by accumulated experience. These include creating a climate for evaluative research in the correctional agency and setting research priorities which reflect the real needs of the agency for knowledge and information. Interestingly, they may not include the commonly heard plea for more rigorous experimental research designs. Adams found that the research projects with the greatest impact were those with the crudest designs—strong experimental designs had less effect on the host agency or its clientele than did "weaker" designs such as the field survey.[14] This suggests that, in a transitional phase such as corrections now seems to be experiencing, flexibility and resourcefulness may be more useful than rigorous experimental designs, at least in effecting the translation of research into action.

2. *Creating a climate for evaluative research.* If evaluative research is to be useful to and used by correctional agencies, an agency "climate" conducive to research must exist or be created. Such a climate will be characterized by the investment of adequate fiscal and other resources in an ongoing research effort of high quality, the incorporation of research as an essential part of agency operations, and a commitment to objective assessment of research results and their use in action as indicated. In this context, the attitudes and actions of the correctional administrator appear to be of fundamental importance. Studies of the role of the administrator in relation to the relevance, utility, and impact of research activities have shown that the products of research are more useful and more likely to be used when top executives are involved in planning for research, support the research effort, and adopt an experimental position with regard to evaluation of agency programs and procedures.

Campbell identifies two distinct management styles which administrators may adopt in response to evaluative research.[15] The "trapped" administrator is committed to his program. If evaluation questions its effectiveness, he is inclined to reject the evaluation, creating problems for his research staff and interfering with the orderly development of agency programs. The "experimental" administrator is committed not to a particular program but to the concept of program or agency improvement. If a program in his agency is shown to be ineffective, he is ready to introduce modifications or to replace the program with another which might be more successful. The experimental administrator is a "leader of change"—pragmatic, forward-looking, and more interested in problem solving than in justifying a particular course of action.

3. *Setting research priorities.* Equally important for the production of useful and reliable evaluative research is the identification of research needs and priorities. Decisions on kinds and amounts of research to be undertaken, of course, are limited first by the level of resources available for research. In agencies where no research capability yet exists, top priority should be given to developing a management information system to routinely collect data on programs, client populations, and outcomes for the purposes of budgeting, making population projections, and planning for deployment of staff and other resources. The existence of a good information system is a prerequisite for adequate program evaluation and subsequent evaluative research efforts will reflect the quality of the information collected. Since few information systems have been developed specifically for corrections and some which have been adapted for use in the corrections field have not worked very well in the past, a substantial investment in planning and design—and a moderate investment in implementation and development—may be the most efficient allocation of resources for this purpose.

Once an effective information system has been developed, evaluation of programs can be added to the agency's research effort. The research strategy for program evaluation may focus on the testing of assumptions underlying the program (the accuracy of the problem definition), the examination and description of program operation (whether the program operates according to design), or the assessment of outcomes (the extent to which both imtermediate and long-range program objectives are achieved).[16] Outcome measures, combined with studies of both program assumptions and operation, can provide the agency with the information needed to guide further program development and may suggest ideas for more elaborate research designs, if sufficient additional resources are available.

In setting priorities for further research, both research needs and the likelihood of achieving practical and usable results must be considered since areas of greatest need may have little potential impact or payoff. Adams identifies several sources

of definitions of research needs, probabilities of payoff, and priorities.[17] One of these is the mission of the agency, its overall purpose and specific objectives. Others are the needs of the agency for maintenance and improvement, the perceived role of corrections in relation to other agencies or systems, the experience of the agency administrator and his staff with correctional problems, and existing correctional or social-behavior theory. The bulk of correctional research to date has been directed toward evaluation of programs in terms of a single objective of the correctional agency—offender rehabilitation. If rehabilitation is indeed the principal goal of corrections, it might be assumed that this identifies a major research priority. On the other hand, since there has been so little payoff from research in this area, it might be concluded that evaluation of treatment programs should be given low priority in the future. The issue remains controversial, with some writers maintaining that both correctional treatment and treatment research should be discontinued, while others claim that better research or better rehabilitative programs would produce positive findings with respect to treatment outcomes.

For the administrator who does not wish to invest heavily in further evaluation of programs, there are interesting and potentially fruitful alternatives. One is the evaluation of other aspects of the agency mission. Systematic analysis of other correctional objectives, such as punishment or incapacitation of the offender, deterrence of crime by others, restoration of the victim, or equity and "justice" in criminal processing, may produce evidence to indicate whether and how such goals are being achieved. Another avenue for productive research might be to focus on system change rather than on changing the offender. Adams observes that the payoff in correctional evaluation appears to occur more frequently in the form of "system improvement" than in "client improvement" or rehabilitation. This, he suggests, is in part a reflection of the obvious need for system reform in corrections and criminal justice.[18] While offender change cannot be disregarded, a more balanced view of the efficacy of corrections and correctional research may be obtained if system change also is recognized as an important objective or goal.

The answer to the questions of whether community corrections "works" thus depends, in the final analysis, on what corrections is expected to accomplish. Since the objectives of evaluation are derived from the objectives of the agency or organization which is evaluated, correctional evaluation can be no more successful than the goals of corrections are well-defined and attainable.[19] If, for example, offender "rehabilitation" is neither well-defined nor possible to achieve through the efforts of corrections staff, then even the best evaluative research will continue to yield unreliable and consistent findings. Evaluation can assist corrections in defining and assessing its objectives; indeed, it must do so if it is to produce operationally useful results.[20]

At some point, the probability of payoff from investment in research becomes important enough to enter into decisions about what kinds of research and what kinds of correctional programs should be pursued. The paucity of useful results from treatment research does not necessarily mean that treatment or its evaluation should be abandoned, but it does imply that other objectives for corrections and for evaluation should be examined more carefully and given greater weight in assessing correctional effectiveness. Experience has suggested that improving the correctional system must go hand in hand with improving correctional evaluation. In a time of transistion—and uncertainty regarding what the correctional system should be doing—community corrections may benefit most by concentrating on the development and testing of alternative systems for offender management. New systems, as Adams points out, may be able to accomplish what the old have failed to do.[21]

B. Directions for Change

While many of the elements of a "new" community corrections are already evident, the field is still in flux and the shape of the future remains uncertain. Few definitive prescriptions for success can be offered, but some general guidelines can be drawn from the experience of organizations and agencies both within and outside the field of corrections. The identification of promising strategies for probation and parole might begin by considering the following caveats.

First, *community corrections cannot stand alone.* The public mandate for probation and parole—and especially their responsibility for offender reintegration—cannot be accomplished solely with correctional resources. Success requires that probation and parole agencies enlist the help of public and private agencies and individuals in the community. Second, *community corrections cannot serve everyone.* Even those services which can be provided without outside assistance cannot be extended to all those caught up in the net of the criminal justice system. In the absence of solid evidence of what works and the resources required to deal successfully with all offenders brought to its attention, community correc-

tions must set priorities, screen offenders, and divert some kinds of cases to other agencies. Third, for those offenders appropriately assigned to its care, *community corrections must offer a genuine alternative to the destructive conditions of incarceration.* Both practical experience and research have shown that changing offenders—"rehabilitation," "reintegration," or whatever else it may be called—becomes increasingly unlikely as the conditions imposed deviate from what is considered normal in society. If probation and parole are to help offenders to become full-fledged members of the law-abiding community, they must begin by exposing those under supervision to at least some of the rewards and constraints experienced by other citizens. And finally, *community corrections cannot ignore the need to keep up with changing times.* Probation and parole agencies, like other public services, will have to become oriented toward change and organizationally capable of adapting to a changing environment. The bureaucratic modes of operation characteristic of traditional corrections agencies may not suffice in the future. The agency itself may have to undergo changes in organization and operation if new approaches to offender management are to become an integral part of community corrections and to be viable over time.

1. *Expanding community involvement.* The term "community corrections" in itself implies some degree of community involvement in corrections, if only because offenders necessarily come into daily contact with others in the community. But the nature of such contacts may be either positive or negative and may help or hinder the corrections effort. If the community is to make positive contributions to offender correction, a concerted effort must be made to obtain the active support and cooperation of many different community groups and the understanding and at least tacit acceptance of the community in general. Community corrections in the past, it seems, has attempted to do too much with too little and often has operated in virtual isolation from the community it serves. In turning to community agencies and individuals for assistance, the corrections agency both increases the resources available for use with offenders and helps to establish a broader base of ongoing support for correctional activities, thus enhancing the stability of the agency itself.

Two ways of expanding community participation in the tasks of offender correction are to bring community residents into the agency as paraprofessionals or volunteers and to send offenders out into the community by establishing contractual arrangements with other agencies to provide needed services. Both of these options offer opportunities to increase services to offenders as well as to garner public support for corrections and correctional objectives.

While recruitment and training of volunteer workers may entail a substantial investment of time and resources on the part of corrections staff, the returns also should be substantial. Volunteers who work directly with offenders offer support and assistance which may be experienced as less official and therefore less stigmatizing. Volunteers can perform some of the tasks normally assigned to correctional staff or they may make it possible for other services to be offered. An additional benefit deriving from the involvement of a large number of citizens in the activities of the probation or parole agency is the gradual development of a significant public constituency with an interest in and concern for the corrections effort.

Heavy reliance on outside agencies for providing services to offenders is characteristic of probation and parole agencies which operate primarily as resource brokers, providing relatively few direct services. Corrections staff concentrate on identifying service needs and referring individuals to those agencies which normally provide such services—mental health or welfare agencies, training, education, or job placement services. Resource development is a continuous process. As new service needs are identified, efforts may be made to encourage their provision to offenders by existing community agencies or their creation for that purpose. Use of non-correctional agencies and services offers benefits similar to those of a good volunteer program—expansion of resources available to offenders, provision of less stigmatizing and often better quality services, and broadening the base of public support for the corrections task.

In addition to active community participation, the understanding and acceptance of the general public may contribute importantly to the success of community corrections. Public education programs are one way to insure that community residents are aware of the goals of corrections and the efforts being made to achieve them. Returns on the investment in mass media campaigns may be in the form of improved relations between the agency and its clients and the rest of the community and greater public receptivity to community corrections programs and the offenders who participate in them.

2. *Differentiating offender management.* It has long been recognized that the offender population is

an extremely varied one and that not all persons require or can benefit from the same kinds of treatment. Nor can the correctional system afford to provide any considerable level of services to all those referred to its care by the criminal courts. Both effective caseload management and the efficient use of scarce resources require that offenders somehow be classified as to type, seriousness, and need for supervision or services and assigned to appropriate kinds of correctional programs or referred to other social service agencies.

The classification or screening process begins even before the presentence investigation with consideration for diversion or for OR release. The availability of clinical diagnostic services can help to insure that accurate assessments of individual characteristics and needs are made, thus promoting more rational decision-making. A full range of options, including deferred prosecution, ROR, and community service programs, as well as varying levels of probation supervision, will facilitate the appropriate and cost-effective assignment of individuals to programs. Different intensities of service should include some high-control options such as residential halfway houses if incarceration is to be kept to a minimum.

Some offenders may be subjected to little or no supervision if assessment indicates that none is required or likely to be beneficial. Sorting out those less serious offenders who appear capable of succeeding on their own and, if appropriate, referring them to other sources of community assistance on a voluntary basis can help to conserve correctional resources for persons who are most in need of them. Lacking the ability to manage all offenders effectively, community corrections must set priorities for the use of its resources and return to the community at least some of the responsibility for dealing with those who break its laws.

3. *Maximizing normalcy.* One of the lessons of correctional research and practice over the past decade has been that official processing by the criminal justice and correctional system can have significant negative effects on the individual who is exposed to it. Success in avoiding future contacts with law enforcement and criminal justice appears more likely when less drastic measures are imposed. This observation has led to the conclusion that, wherever possible, efforts should be made to minimize disruption of the offender's life and to maximize the normalcy of the correctional experience. These goals are more likely to be achieved if the corrections agency is embedded in the community from which most of its clients come, if it offers to offenders the services and resources available to other community residents, and if the sanctions imposed on offenders permit them to experience some of the rewards and constraints of conventional social life.

There are many ways in which community corrections can provide a genuine alternative to the abnormal and often counterproductive conditions of penal incarceration or facilitate the re-entry of persons released from institutions to normal community life. Some probation and parole agencies have attempted to blend with the surrounding community by modifying the official bureaucratic character of their operations or by bringing local residents into contact with offenders through their employment as paraprofessionals or as volunteers. Some agencies have made their services available to "walk in" clients who are not referred through the criminal justice system, mixing offenders with non-offenders and thereby reducing the stigma attached to participation in correctional programs. Use of non-correctional resources for offenders—e.g., their referral to training, mental health, or job placement services available to all community residents—also helps to normalize the probation or parole experience. Graduated release programs bring some degree of normalcy to the correctional institution by allowing inmates to take advantage of educational or employment opportunities on the outside while easing the transition from institutional to community life.

If the goals of probation and parole include helping the offender to lead a normal productive life, the means employed must reflect social norms and expectations and these must be communicated to the offender in terms he can understand and accept. Some types of correctional sanction are particularly well suited to this purpose. Community service programs, in which the offender pays for his crime by performing tasks beneficial to his community, offer some offenders their first real opportunity for constructive social behavior. Correctional programs which utilize "contracts" developed and mutually agreed to by the offender and the agency can provide a framework for learning responsible and goal-oriented living. Restitution also contributes to these ends by requiring that the offender recognize the effects of his illegal conduct and accept responsibility for making amends in a manner generally expected by society. To the extent that participation in correctional programs can be voluntary on the part of the offender the correctional experience will more closely resemble the conditions of normal community life.

4. *Improving agency organization and administra-*

tion. The way in which the community corrections agency is organized and managed is crucial to the success of the probation or parole operation since it largely determines the agency's ability to respond in a timely and appropriate manner to changing social conditions and public expectations. The traditional correctional agency, with its bureaucratic and hierarchical organization and somewhat authoritarian management style, may experience great difficulty in establishing productive relationships with other agencies, systems, and community groups or in garnering the resources necessary for its effective operation. Its administrators may be unable even to obtain the full support of agency staff at lower levels where policies must be translated into action if agency goals are to be met. Such agencies are static and relatively inflexible and they respond slowly and often unwillingly to the need for change.

Community corrections can be more effective if it sets realistic goals and identifies the means by which they may be attained, if means and goals are shared and supported by staff at all levels and by other community agencies and groups, if all of the resources necessary for their achievement are available and used, and if the agency is capable of rapid adjustment as goals and means are altered to accord with changing circumstances.

For these conditions to be present, the community corrections agency must have developed a well-defined agency "mission" or statement of objectives and means which is communicated to and supported by all staff as well as other agencies and groups concerned with the corrections effort. Objectives should be developed in conjunction with research and other staff and they must be realistically attainable, operationally defined, and clearly stated to permit both effective operation and useful evaluation. Ongoing data collection and periodic evaluation should be undertaken to assess goal attainment and satisfy the need for accountability.

The successful probation of parole agency operates under the strong and dynamic leadership of an administrator who is committed to agency improvement. Such an administrator is articulate, secure in his leadership role, and unafraid of sharing decision-making and planning responsibilities with his staff. His approach to agency management is non-traditional, permitting maximum feasible discretion at operating levels while providing clear guidelines and continuous monitoring to insure that agency goals are met.

Strong linkages with other agencies and systems both within and outside criminal justice and corrections are developed and maintained to facilitate the sharing of resources and exchange of information. Management is outward-looking and confortable with the tasks of public relations and communications, acting as mediator and articulator in the agency's relationships with the rest of the community. The internal structure of the agency diverges from the conventional organizational format, permitting highly participative, flexible, and discretionary modes of operation. Decentralization of much decision-making and major delegation of operating responsibilities within a well-monitored frame-work of general policy provides the advantages of both central control for the purposes of accountability and productivity and local autonomy for effective service delivery.

As changes occur in the external environment—whether in the form of new public demands, a changed political climate, new legislation, or reductions in financial and other resources—the community corrections agency must be prepared to modify its goals or its means of achieving them without seriously disrupting agency operations or the continuity of program development. Such changes are taken in stride by the agency which has the full cooperation of a staff committed to agency growth and improvement, the leadership of a progressive and skilled management team, and the broadly based support of diverse community services and groups.

C. Looking Ahead

It is difficult to predict with any certainty the direction which community corrections will take in the years ahead. Any attempt to predict the future of community corrections must consider not only those factors which affect the size of the overall correctional workload (including trends in the incidence of crime, the state of the economy and the level of unemployment, future age distributions and the ethnic mix of the population, residential stability and patterns of migration), but also the many variables which may influence the way in which the correctional workload is apportioned and how it is managed (e.g., trends in criminal justice philosophy and practice or shifts in the public temper and legislative responses to it). The fine art of social prediction is not to be undertaken casually for it is filled with difficulties which challenge the most sophisticated demographer. Yet perhaps some tentative predictions can be made by briefly noting some prevailing trends and the forces which act upon them and thus estimating future developments.

1. *Crime trends*. The growth in the incidence of crime over the post-war decades offers little cause for optimism. Particularly disturbing has been the

rate of increase in violent crime. Homicide, robbery, rape, and aggravated assault understandably generate the greatest public fear and increases in such crimes produce demands for harsher treatment of those who commit them. Growing recourse to violence is evident throughout the world in the form of terrorism, politically engendered violent acts, and a resurgence of gang violence as well as more common forms of street crime.

The single encouraging trend is found in the declining youthful population which is generally responsible for much violent crime. In five or ten years the offspring of the post-war baby boom, which overburdened the juvenile justice apparatus in the 1960s and now overloads the prison system, will have entered a less crime-prone age bracket and been replaced by dwindling numbers of middle adolescents and young adults. Even this trend, however, is offset by the fact that the birth rate is not declining as fast among minority groups whose members traditionally are overrepresented in correctional populations, especially among the violent offender group.

There is some evidence that the rate of increase in violent crime now may be slowing down. Uniform Crime Reports data for 1976 show a shift in the proportions of person and property offenses. While the incidence of crime remained relatively stable, violent crime decreased a few percentage points while property offenses, notably larceny, showed an increase over previous years. This decrease in violent crime, if it continues, could alter the trend toward growing use of incarceration evident in recent years.

Other long-term social trends believed to contribute to the crime phenomenon show little likelihood of change. Some analysts have postulated that the egalitarian philosophy of Western society leads to continually rising expectations and consequent frustrations among those who fail to achieve the "good life." Others have suggested that the impersonalization which characterizes the increasingly automated, mechanized, and computerized post-industrial world undermines adherence to traditional values and social controls. Crime has long been more evident in the cities and the steady increase in urbanization over the past few decades has been exacerbated, rather perversely, by the flight of the middle class to the suburbs. All of these trends, which promise little relief in the incidence of crime, also project a growing workload for the social institutions and agencies committed to its control.

2. *Trends in criminal justice philosophy and practice.* While stable or rising crime rates suggest a continuing growth in correctional workloads, the size and nature of the total correctional population and that of community corrections are heavily influenced by other factors the effects of which are even more difficult to ascertain. Predictions based on trends in criminal justice philosophy and practice or the public or legislative mood are extremely risky, but such factors cannot be ignored in any discussion of possible futures for community corrections.

Efforts to predict the future of community corrections might begin by considering the likely outcomes of four current trends in criminal justice: decriminalization, diversion, due process, and deinstitutionalization. Labelled the "four D's" by the author of a recent monograph on evaluation of juvenile justice programs,[22] these trends are becoming as evident in adult correctional philosophy and practice as they have long been in the juvenile field.

3. *Decriminalization.* Clearly apparent throughout the country is the trend toward removing some forms of disapproved behavior from the jurisdiction of the criminal justice system. Particularly evident is the move to decriminalize or at least to minimize penalties for the use of drugs and alcohol. Arrest and jailing of chronic drunks have been reduced considerably as states have acted to decriminalize public drunkenness. A similar trend is apparent with respect to the use of "soft" drugs and to the sexual behavior of consenting adults. Such trends are likely to continue, not only because of their humanity, but also because limited criminal justice resources are needed to cope with more serious threats to public safety. Decriminalization of such behaviors may help to keep the correctional workload within manageable proportions and also is likely to affect the composition of the offender population.

4. *Diversion.* In recent years, adult probation has moved into the pretrial area much as juvenile probation traditionally has played a leading role in the prehearing phase of the juvenile process. Probation staff are participating in the selection of candidates for diversion through deferred prosecution and increasingly are assuming responsibility for the operation of ROR programs. Entry into the pretrial area has added significantly to probation's case assessment responsibilities and has produced a need for additional staff to handle pretrial functions.

Continued expansion of such activities and of probation's role in them probably can be anticipated. Legitimizing and regularizing the operation of these programs through the enactment of appropriate state

legislation hopefully will provide a mandate for securing the necessary staff.

5. *Due Process.* A series of court decisions in the past decade has done much to alter juvenile and adult criminal justice procedures and quite probably has contributed to the delimitation of the correctional workload. While some erosion of this trend is apparent in more recent Supreme Court rulings, the general thrust continues to be evident and community corrections undoubtedly will continue to be affected. The growing concern for due process in probation and in parole (particularly with respect to parole violations) has led to increased investment of staff time in the processing of cases and a lessening of this workload probably cannot be expected.

6. *Deinstitutionalization.* The trend toward deinstitutionalization by expanding the use of community alternatives could be reversed in the future if public fears of rising crime produce demands for increased use of incarceration. Alternatively, the growing scarcity of resources in the public sector may necessitate the limited use of corrections' most expensive options—its prisons and jails— and a greater reliance on less costly community-based programs. Burgeoning prisons populations, widespread questioning of the effectiveness of rehabilitative programs, a growing emphasis on corrections as punishment rather than treatment, and public demands for more restrictive crime control might suggest that community corrections is facing a decline. However, the justice model, with its emphasis on expanded use of incarceration, has yet to be translated into statutory form, prison construction costs of more than $40,000 per bed discourage significant expansion of institutional capacity, and probation workloads continue to climb. It seems probable, therefore, that probation will continue to be the predominant correctional instrumentality for many years to come.

Whatever happens, it seems that decisions will not be made solely on the basis of traditional measures of effectiveness. Parole, for example, appears likely to be abolished or severely restricted in some jurisdictions despite evidence that it is at least as effective, in terms of controlling recidivism, as other forms of release from prison.[23] Both probation and parole will have to demonstrate their success in other ways if they are to persist as viable alternatives to incarceration.

One of the tests of success will be how probation and parole respond to the challenges of the future. They can lead or follow but they cannot ignore the need for change. Some of the major challenges likely to be faced by community corrections in the coming decade will be to reconcile its multiple conflicting goals, to overcome the chaos of the "system" in which it operates, and to resolve the organizational dilemmas common to agencies which must be both centrally controlled for accountability purposes and locally administered for effective service delivery. If probation and parole can articulate their objectives, find reasonable ways of working toward them while monitoring progress, and elicit the support of persons within their agencies, the correctional system, and the external environment, they will have done much to assure the future success of community corrections.

REFERENCES AND NOTES—CHAPTER VI

1. *New York Daily News*, February 1, 1976.
2. Walter C. Bailey, "Correctional outcome: an evaluation of 100 reports," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 57(June), 153-60, 1966; James Robison and Gerald Smith, "The effectiveness of correctional programs," *Crime and Delinquency*, 17(Jan.), 67-80, 1971; David A. Ward, "Evaluative research for corrections," in Lloyd E. Ohlin (ed.), *Prisoners in America*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1973; Robert M. Martinson, *Treatment Evaluation Survey*, New York, Division of Criminal Justice Services, 1971; Douglas Lipton, Robert M. Martinson, and Judith Wilks, *The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment: A Survey of Treatment Evaluation Studies*, New York, Praeger, 1975.
3. Parole has been essentially eliminated in the state of Maine, severely restricted in Indiana and California, and its replacement by determinant sentencing is being considered in about one-half of the states in the U.S. See: M.G. Neithercutt, "Parole legislation," to be published in *Federal Probation*, Spring, 1977.
4. Bailey, *op. cit. supra* note 2.
5. Robison and Smith, *op. cit. supra* note 2.
6. Ward, *op. cit. supra* note 2.
7. Martinson, *op. cit. supra* note 2. Martinson subsequently re-examined his data, finding recidivism rates to be much lower than he originally believed, and has modified his earlier conclusion. See: Robert Martinson, "In my opinion," *Corrections Magazine*, December 1976.
8. Nine "evaluations of evaluations" are reviewed by Stuart Adams in *Evaluative Research in Corrections: A Practical Guide*, LEAA Prescriptive Package, Washington, D.C., National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, March 1975, pp. 7 ff.
9. Ted Palmer points out that in 48 percent of the studies reviewed by Martinson, treatment was successful for at least some proportion of the offender population. See: Ted

Palmer, "Martinson revisited," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, July 1975, pp. 133–152.

10. Bailey, *op. cit. supra* note 2. Reviews of evaluative studies also may be misleading. Martinson has criticized his own evaluation of treatment studies, finding on re-examination of the data that the average recidivism rate was a low 23.5 percent and concluding that correctional treatment may be more effective that he once believed. Robert Martinson, "In my opinion," *Corrections Magazine*, December 1976.
11. Adams, *op cit. supra* note 8.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Donald T. Campbell, "Reforms as experiments," in James A. Caporaso and Leslie L. Rose, Jr. (eds.), *Quasi-Experimental Approaches*, Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University Press, 1973.
16. An excellent summary of strategies for program evaluation in the juvenile justice field is provided in: LaMar T. Empey, *A Model for the Evaluation of Programs in Juvenile Justice*, Wash., D.C., National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1977.
17. *Op. cit. supra* note 8.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. The collaborative effort of correctional practitioners and program evaluators in defining correctional objectives and measuring their achievement is outlined by LaMar T. Empey, *op. cit. supra* note 16.
21. *Op. cit. supra* note 8.
22. *Op. cit. supra* note 16.
23. Analyses of Uniform Parole Reports data reveal a 23–24 percent recidivism rate for parolees over a three-year period if both technical violations and new convictions are counted. If only returns to prison for new convictions are considered, this rate is a startingly low 7 percent.

APPENDIX A

Standard 10.1

Organization of Probation

Each State with locally or judicially administered probation should take action, in implementing Standard 16.4, Unifying Correctional Programs, to place probation organizationally in the executive branch of State government. The State correctional agency should be given responsibility for:

1. Establishing statewide goals, policies, and priorities that can be translated into measurable objectives by those delivering services.

2. Program planning and development of innovative service strategies.

3. Staff development and training.

4. Planning for manpower needs and recruitment.

5. Collecting statistics, monitoring services, and conducting research and evaluation.

6. Offering consultation to courts, legislative bodies, and local executives.

7. Coordinating the activities of separate systems for delivery of services to the courts and to probationers until separate staffs to perform services to the courts are established within the courts system.

During the period when probation is being placed under direct State operation, the State correctional agency should be given authority to supervise local probation and to operate regional units in rural areas where population does not justify creation or continuation of local probation. In addition to the responsibilities previously listed, the State correctional agency should be given responsibility for:

1. Establishing standards relating to personnel, services to courts, services to probationers, and records to be maintained, including format of reports to courts, statistics, and fiscal controls.

2. Consultation to local probation agencies, including evaluation of services with recommendations for improvement; assisting local systems to develop uniform record and statistical reporting procedures conforming to State standards; and aiding in local staff development efforts.

3. Assistance in evaluating the number and types of staff needed in each jurisdiction.

4. Financial assistance through reimbursement or subsidy to those probation agencies meeting standards set forth in this chapter.

Commentary

The position of probation in the government framework varies among the States. A longstanding debate as to the most appropriate placement of probation continues. The controversy centers on two main issues: whether probation should be a part of the judicial or executive branch of government and

whether it should be administered by State or local units.

Those who support placement of probation in the judicial branch contend that:

1. Probation would be more responsive to the courts.
2. Relationship of probation staff to the courts creates an automatic feedback mechanism on the effectiveness of dispositions.
3. Courts will have greater awareness of resources needed.
4. Courts might allow their own staff more discretion than they would allow to members of an outside agency.
5. If probation were incorporated into a department of corrections, it might be assigned a lower priority than it would have as part of the court.

On the other hand, placement of probation in the judiciary has certain disadvantages:

1. Judges are not equipped to administer probation.
2. Services to probationers may receive lower priority than services to the courts.
3. Probation staff may be assigned duties unrelated to probation.
4. Courts are adjudicatory and regulative rather than service-oriented bodies.

Placement in the executive branch has these features to recommend it:

1. Allied human service agencies are located within the executive branch.
2. All other corrections subsystems are located in the executive branch.
3. More coordinated and effective program budgeting as well as increased ability to negotiate fully in the resource allocation process becomes possible.
4. A coordinated continuum of services to offenders and better utilization of probation manpower are facilitated.

When compared, these arguments tend to support placing probation in the executive branch. The potential for increased coordination in planning, better utilization of manpower and improved services to offenders cannot be dismissed.

A State-administered probation system has decided advantages over local administration. A total system planning approach to probation as a subsystem of corrections is needed. Such planning requires State leadership. Furthermore, implementation of planning strategies requires uniformity of standards, reporting, and evaluation as well as resource allocation.

The other chapters in this report dealing with court intake services (Chapters 8 and 9) recommend that specialized intake units should be established under the administrative control of the court system. Until this recommendation is implemented, the probation system should be organized under a common administrator to reflect two distinct responsibilities: to provide services to the court and services to probationers. Different staffs should serve each sector, and each staff should be located near the sector it serves.

References

1. American Bar Association Project on Standards for Criminal Justice. *Standards Relating to Probation*. New York: Institute of Judicial Administration, 1970.
2. American Correctional Association. *Manual of Correctional Standards*. 3d ed. Washington: ACA, 1966.
3. National Council on Crime and Delinquency. *Model Act for State Correctional Services*. New York: NCCD, 1966.
4. Nelson, Elmer K., Jr., and Lovell, Catherine H. *Developing Correctional Administrators*. Washington: Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, 1969.
5. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. *Task Force Report: Corrections*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967.
6. Smith, Robert L. *A Quiet Revolution--Probation Subsidy*. Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1972.

Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementing Standard 10.1.

6.1 Comprehensive Classification Systems.
9.1 Total System Planning.
13.2 Planning and Organization.
15.1 State Correctional Information Systems.
16.4 Unifying Correctional Programs.

Standard 12.1

Organization of Paroling Authorities

Each State that has not already done so should, by 1975, establish parole decisionmaking bodies for adult and juvenile offenders that are independent of correctional institutions. These boards may be administratively part of an overall statewide correctional services agency, but they should be autonomous in their decisionmaking authority and separate from field services. The board responsible for the parole of adult offenders should have jurisdiction over both felons and misdemeanants.

1. The boards should be specifically responsible for articulating and fixing policy, for acting on appeals by correctional authorities or inmates on decisions made by hearing examiners, and for issuing and signing warrants to arrest and hold alleged parole violators.

2. The boards of larger States should have a staff of full-time hearing examiners appointed under civil service regulations.

3. The boards of smaller States may assume responsibility for all functions; but should establish clearly defined procedures for policy development, hearings, and appeals.

4. Hearing examiners should be empowered to hear and make initial decisions in parole grant and revocation cases under the specific policies of the parole board. The report of the hearing examiner containing a transcript of the hearing and the evidence should constitute the exclusive record. The decision of the hearing examiner should be final unless appealed to the parole board within 5 days by the correctional authority or the offender. In the case of an appeal, the parole board should review the case on the basis of whether there is substantial evidence in the report to support the finding or whether the finding was erroneous as a matter of law.

5. Both board members and hearing examiners should have close understanding of correctional institutions and be fully aware of the nature of their programs and the activities of offenders.

6. The parole board should develop a citizen committee, broadly representative of the community and including ex-offenders, to advise the board on the development of policies.

Commentary

Parole authorities are criticized both for being too closely tied to the institution (as with juveniles) and too remote from the realities of correctional programs (as with adults). Most persons concerned with parole decisionmaking for juveniles are full-time institutional staff. In the adult field, most parole boards are completely independent from the institutions whose residents they serve. In fact, no adult parole releasing authority is controlled directly by the operating staff of a penal institution.

Parole boards that are tied to, or part of, institu-

tional staff are criticized mainly on the grounds that too often institutional considerations, rather than individual or community needs, influence the decisions. Institutional decisionmaking also lends itself to such informal procedures and lack of visibility as to raise questions about its capacity for fairness.

On the other hand, independent parole boards are criticized on the grounds that they tend to be insensitive to institutional programs; to base their decisions on political considerations; to be too remote to fully understand the dynamics of a given case; and/or that they and their staff have little training in or knowledge about corrections.

An organizational arrangement lying between these two extremes is now gaining prominence. In the new model, the parole authority is organizationally situated in a unified department of corrections but possesses independent powers. This arrangement is desirable in that paroling authorities need to be aware of and involved with all aspects of correctional programs. Yet they should be so situated organizationally as to maintain sufficient independence and capacity to reflect a broader range of decisionmaking concerns than efficient correctional management.

The absence of written criteria by which decisions are made constitutes a major failing in virtually every parole jurisdiction. Some agencies issue statements purporting to be criteria, but they usually are so general as to be meaningless. The sound use of discretion and ultimate accountability for its exercise rest largely in making visible the criteria used in forming judgments. Parole boards must free themselves from total concern with case-by-case decisionmaking and attend to articulation of the actual policies that govern the decisionmaking process.

In addition to the pressure for clearly articulated policies, there is also demand for mechanisms by which parole decisions can be appealed. It is important for parole systems to develop self-regulation systems, including internal appeal procedures. Where the volume of cases warrants it, a parole board should concentrate its attention on policy development and appeals.

Case-by-case decisionmaking should be done by hearing examiners responsible to the board who are familiar with its policies and knowledgeable about correctional programs. Hearing examiners should have statutory power to grant, deny, or revoke parole subject to parole board rules and policies. Appeals by the correctional authority or inmates on the decisions of hearing examiners should be decided by the parole board on the basis of the written report of the hearing examiner. The grounds for review would be whether or not there is substantial evidence in the report to support the finding or whether the decision was erroneous as a matter of law.

In smaller states, many of these activities would have to be carried out by the same persons, since the size of the system would not justify hearing examiners in addition to a parole board. However, procedures can and should be developed to assure attention to each separate function—policy development, hearings, appeals, and decisionmaking.

An important component of the parole decisionmaking function which currently exists in few, if any, parole jurisdictions is the involvement of community representatives. Policy development offers a particularly suitable opportunity for such citizen participation. It is likely to improve the quality of policies and almost certainly will improve the probability of their implementation.

References

1. U.S. Department of Justice, *Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures*, Vol. IV. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939.
2. California State Assembly, Select Committee on the Administration of Justice. *Parole Board Reform in California: Order Out of Chaos*. Sacramento: 1970.
3. Comment, "The Parole System," *Pennsylvania Law Review*, 120 (1971), 282.
4. Davis, Kenneth Culp. *Discretionary Justice*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969.
5. Gottfredson, Don, and Ballard, Kelley. "Difference in Parole Decisions Associated with Decision Makers." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 3 (1966), 112.
6. Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. *Perspectives on Correctional Manpower and Training*. Washington: JCCMT, 1970.
7. National Council on Crime and Delinquency. *Standard Act for State Correctional Services*. New York: NCCD, 1966.
8. National Parole Institutes. *The Organization of Parole Systems*. 2d ed. New York: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, in press.
9. Zwerdling, Joseph. "The Role and Functions of Federal Hearing Examiners," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 400 (1972), 27.

Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementation Standard 12.1.

2.2 Access to Legal Services.
2.3 Access to Legal Materials.
2.10 Retention and Restoration of Rights.

102

2.11 Rules of Conduct.
2.14 Grievance Procedure.
2.15 Free Expression and Association.
2.17 Access to the Public.
5.8 Credit for Time Served.
6.1 Comprehensive Classification Systems.
7.2 Marshaling and Coordinating Community Resources.
9.9 Release Programs.
13.1 Professional Correctional Management.
15.2 Staffing for Correctional Research and Information Systems.
15.5 Evaluating the Performance of the Correctional System.
16.1 Comprehensive Correctional Legislation.
16.2 Administrative Justice.
16.3 Code of Offenders' Rights.
16.15 Parole Legislation.

Standard 12.5

Organization of Field Services

Each State should provide by 1978 for the consolidation of institutional and parole field services in departments or divisions of correctional services. Such consolidations should occur as closely as possible to operational levels.

1. Juvenile and adult correctional services may be part of the same parent agency but should be maintained as autonomous program units within it.

2. Regional administration should be established so that institutional and field services are jointly managed and coordinated at the program level.

3. Joint training programs for institutional and field staffs should be undertaken, and transfers of personnel between the two programs should be encouraged.

4. Parole services should be delivered, wherever practical, under a team system in which a variety of persons including parolees, parole managers, and community representatives participate.

5. Teams should be located, whenever practical, in the neighborhoods where parolees reside. Specific team members should be assigned to specific community groups and institutions designated by the team as especially significant.

6. Organizational and administrative practices should be altered to provide greatly increased autonomy and decisionmaking power to the parole teams.

Commentary

Lack of coordination among correctional programs and functions has for years been a grave impediment to development of effective correctional programs. The separation of field parole services from the rest of corrections has been no exception. The growing complexity and interdependence of correctional programs require more than ever that parole field staff be integrated more closely with institutional staff.

As the philosophy of reintegration gains prominence, many correctional staff relationships will change. Parole staff will be concerned with prerelease activities and halfway house programs. It will no longer be the practice to wait for the "transfer" of a case from an institution to a parole staff. Rather, the lines of responsibility between institution and parole staff will become increasingly blurred. They will either perform similar roles or cooperate closely. While organizational change will not automatically create such a close interrelationship, it certainly will facilitate the goal of functional integration.

A crucial first step to this goal is to place both of these units under one administrative head. In a number of States, some parole field staffs report to independent parole boards. These staffs should be transferred to the department of corrections to enhance correctional program integration and to free parole

boards for their prime task of parole policy formation and decisionmaking.

The move to consolidate parole services should also involve increasing emphasis on providing services for misdemeanants, a function currently characterized by large gaps in services. Likewise, to assure continuity of services for juveniles, juvenile programs should be encompassed in statewide correctional agencies. This is not to say that separate divisions focusing on juvenile institutional and field services should not be maintained, but they should be organizationally tied to such services for adults so that consolidated planning may occur. For both juveniles and adults, regional administration will provide for a coordinated flow of services regardless of an offender's legal status at any given time.

However, more than a common administration is needed to coordinate field and institution staffs. Ideological differences between the two divisions, augmented too often by empirical, educational, and cultural differences, are a hazard. Badly needed are mechanisms that foster a focus on program objectives rather than on organizational function. These include training programs, common administrative controls at lower levels, and personnel policies that encourage transfers across functional areas.

The organization of field services also requires fundamental restructuring in the way its services are delivered. Organizational patterns based on the notion of a single parole officer responsible for a specific caseload of parolees should give way to those facilitating team methods. With a team approach a group of parole personnel including volunteers and paraprofessionals works with a group of parolees, with tasks being assigned on the basis of the team's assessment of services needed and staff most able to provide for them. In many cases, parole staff's efforts will be focused on various community groups or organizations rather than directly on a parolee. The variety of needs presented by parolees and the objective of involving the community more directly in programs require such methods.

Moving from the traditional caseload orientation to a team approach will not be easy. Formerly, the tasks and responsibilities assigned to individual parole officers were fairly easy to manage and supervise. Often the performance of parole officers was evaluated on the number of contacts made with each parolee assigned to each officer. Complete and prompt reports, often emphasizing compliance with rules and policies, were also valued highly. Under a team approach, however, parole managers must learn to administer a decentralized organization that must both adhere to broad policies and allow for a high degree of individual autonomy. Communication must be open, and power must be shared. There will be no set formula for how a "case" should be handled, and strong administrative leadership will be crucial.

References

1. National Council on Crime and Delinquency. *Model Act for State Correctional Services.* New York: NCCD, 1966.
2. National Probation and Parole Institutes. *The Organization of Parole Systems for Felony Offenders in the United States.* 2nd ed. Hackensack, N.J.: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1972.
3. Nelson, Elmer K., and Lovell, Catherine H. *Developing Correctional Administrators.* Washington: Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, 1969.
4. New York, Governor's Special Committee on Criminal Offenders. *Report.* Albany, 1968.
5. O'Leary, Vincent, and Duffee, David. "Managerial Behavior and Correctional Policy." *Public Administration Review,* 31 (1971), 603.
6. Studt, Elliot. *People in the Parole Action System: Their Tasks and Dilemmas.* Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971.

Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementing Standard 12.5.

7.2 Marshaling and Coordinating Community Resources.
13.1 Professional Correctional Management.
14.11 Staff Development.
16.1 Comprehensive Correctional Legislation.
16.4 Unifying Correctional Programs.
16.6 Regional Cooperation.

Standard 13.1

Professional Correctional Management

Each corrections agency should begin immediately to train a management staff that can provide, at minimum, the following system capabilities:

1. Managerial attitude and administrative procedures permitting each employee to have more say about what he does, including more responsibility for deciding how to proceed for setting goals and producing effective rehabilitation programs.

2. A management philosophy encouraging delegation of work-related authority to the employee level and acceptance of employee decisions, with the recognition that such diffusion of authority does not mean managerial abdication but rather that decisions can be made by the persons most involved and thus presumably best qualified.

3. Administrative flexibility to organize employees into teams or groups, recognizing that individuals involved in small working units become concerned with helping their teammates and achieving common goals.

4. Desire and administrative capacity to eliminate consciously as many as possible of the visible distinctions between employee categories, thereby shifting organizational emphasis from an authority or status orientation to a goal orientation.

5. The capability of accomplishing promotion from within the system through a carefully designed and properly implemented career development program.

Commentary

It is almost universally recognized today in industry and the higher levels of government that management is a science as well as an art, and that the field of management rapidly is approaching the status of a profession. There are graduate schools of business and public administration all over the world, and innumerable commercial and governmental organizations strongly encourage, indeed often demand, that their managers have an appropriate managerial education.

The field of corrections, in contrast, is characterized by a virtual absence of professionally trained managers. Often, advancement into and upward in management is through the ranks, with little thought given to the more difficult and professional demands placed on higher management levels. Appointment to management positions in the corrections field frequently is related to politics. Seniority and cronyism have proved grossly inadequate as selection and advancement criteria. The magnitude and complexity of the tasks confronting the field of

corrections demand the highest levels of professional competence and managerial expertise.

References

1. Carlisle, Howard M. "Are Functional Organizations Becoming Obsolete?" *Management Review*, 58 (1969), 2–25.
2. Drucker, Peter F. *The Effective Executive*. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.
3. Jacobs, T. O. *Leadership and Exchange in Formal Organizations*. Alexandria, Va.: Human Resources Research Organization, 1970.
4. Nelson, E. K. and Catherine Lovell. *Developing Correctional Administrators*, Washington: Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, 1969.
5. Kepner, Charles H., and Tregor, Benjamin B. *The Rational Manager*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.
6. Street, David; Vinter, Robert D.; and Perrow, Charles. *Organization for Treatment*. New York: Free Press, 1966.

Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementing Standard 13.1.

14.6 Personnel Practices for Retaining Staff.
14.7 Participatory Management.

Standard 13.2

Planning and Organization

Each correctional agency should begin immediately to develop an operational, integrated process of long-, intermediate-, and short-range planning for administrative and operation functions. This should include:

1. An established procedure open to as many employees as possible for establishing and reviewing organizational goals and objectives at least annually.

2. A research capability for adequately identifying the key social, economic, and functional influences impinging on that agency and for predicting the future impact of each influence (See Chapter 15).

3. The capability to monitor, at least annually, progress toward previously specified objectives.

4. An administrative capability for properly assessing the future support services required for effective implementation of formulated plans.

These functions should be combined in one organizational unit responsible to the chief executive officer but drawing heavily on objectives, plans, and information from each organizational subunit.

Each agency should have an operating cost-accounting system by 1975 which should include the following capabilities:

1. Classification of all offender functions and activities in terms of specific action programs.

2. Allocation of costs to specific action programs.

3. Administrative conduct, through program analysis, of ongoing programmatic analyses for management.

Commentary

The rate of change in corrections has not reached a pace that makes planning impossible. Many of today's problems are related directly to a failure to anticipate the operational impact of general social environmental changes. Extension of the range of offenders' rights, for example, was a natural outgrowth of a similar movement with regard to racial minorities and students.

Planning is even more important at a time when an organization's basic assumptions and objectives are being critically questioned. Reform can and should be a continuing process, not a reaction to periodic public criticism. The planner's role as a skeptic or devil's advocate can keep the corrections field from a state of complacency.

An organization's climate and structure are critical features of its ability to respond to changing environmental conditions. Employees react negatively to changes imposed from above, and so their access to decisionmaking is important even though the chief executive's leadership responsibilities require that in-

novations cannot always be vetoed by subordinates.

Functional groupings in organizations that deal with human behavior are almost always ineffective. A behavioral problem cannot be addressed by one employee and ignored by another. As needs of special offenders are emphasized, the organization will be required to respond in a unified way. Organizational subunits must be viewed as temporary work groups with a mutually accepted objective.

References

1. Argyris, Chris. "Effectiveness and Planning of Change" in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. New York: Macmillan, 1968. Vol. II, pp. 311–319.
2. Bennis, Warren G., ed. *The Planning of Change*. 2d ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.
3. Dale, Ernest. *Planning and Developing the Company Organization Structure*. New York: American Management Association, 1955.
4. Hendricksen, Eldon S. *Accounting Theory*. Homewood, Ill.: R.D. Irvin, 1965.
5. Le Breton, Preston P. *General Administration: Planning and Implementation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.
6. Littleton, Ananias, and Zimmerman, V. K. *Accounting Theory, Continuity and Change*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962.
7. Miller, Robert W. "How to Plan and Control with PERT," *Harvard Business Review*, 40 (1962), 93–104.
8. Mockler, Robert J. "Theory and Practice of Planning," *Harvard Business Review*, 48 (1970), 148–159.
9. Odiorne, George. *Management Decisions by Objectives*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.
10. Pfiffner, John M., and Sherwood, Frank P. *Administrative Organization*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960.
11. State and Local Finance Project. *Planning, Programming and Budgeting for City, State, and County Objectives*. Washington: George Washington University, 1968.

Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementing Standard 13.2.

15.2 Staffing for Correctional Research and Information Systems.

15.5 Evaluating the Performance of the Correctional System.

Standard 14.1
Recruitment of Correctional Staff

Correctional agencies should begin immediately to develop personnel policies and practices that will improve the image of corrections and facilitate the fair and effective selection of the best persons for correctional positions.

To improve the image of corrections, agencies should:

1. Discontinue the use of uniforms.

2. Replace all military titles with names appropriate to the correctional task.

3. Discontinue the use of badges and, except where absolutely necessary, the carrying of weapons.

4. Abolish such military terms as company, mess hall, drill, inspection, and gig list.

5. Abandon regimented behavior in all facilities, both for personnel and for inmates.

In the recruitment of personnel, agencies should:

1. Eliminate all political patronage for staff selection.

2. Eliminate such personnel practices as:

a. Unreasonable age or sex restrictions.

b. Unreasonable physical restrictions (e.g., height, weight).

c. Barriers to hiring physically handicapped.

d. Questionable personality tests.

e. Legal or administrative barriers to hiring ex-offenders.

f. Unnecessarily long requirements for experience in correctional work.

g. Residency requirements.

3. Actively recruit from minority groups, women, young persons, and prospective indigenous workers, and see that employment announcements reach these groups and the general public.

4. Make a task analysis of each correctional position (to be updated periodically) to determine those tasks, skills, and qualities needed. Testing based solely on these relevant features should be designed to assure that proper qualifications are considered for each position.

5. Use an open system of selection in which any testing device used is related to a specific job and is a practical test of a person's ability to perform that job.

Commentary

The image of corrections as regimented and military in nature is discouraging to the recruitment of the very types of persons most needed. Corrections must abandon the appearances, terminology, and practices that have contributed to this image. These changes will make corrections a more attractive career field to the young, to educated and talented people, to minorities, women, etc.

Many problems must be overcome for the successful recruitment of highly qualified staff. Prospective staff often are driven from this field because of poor personnel policies and practices that select out or repel applicants.

Selection through political patronage results in the accumulation of employees who are poorly qualified or motivated for correctional work. The practice is also discouraging to employees who prepared themselves for correctional careers and who wish to improve the status and effectiveness of the field.

Correctional agencies traditionally have preferred to hire only males of mature age who met rigid and arbitrary requirements as to height and weight and who were free of physical defect. Agencies also have administered personality tests that were not originally designed for correctional recruitment and barred the employment of persons who had ever been arrested or convicted of even the most minor offenses. None of these practices is based upon the realities of correctional work. They have operated effectively to bar persons with skills and talents that can be put to good use in corrections. Instead of closing the doors of corrections to these people, agencies should make an active and enlightened effort to recruit them.

Announcements of positions available rarely get beyond the bulletin board of the State personnel office. They never reach the inner city or other places where qualified persons could apply if they knew about job openings.

Some widely used requirements for jobs in corrections select out applicants because they do not have extensive experience in specific correctional work. This requirement is most widely used for supervisory or administrative positions and results in perpetuation of a questionable seniority system. In many cases it works against bringing into management new employees with new ideas and the courage to champion change rather than perpetuate the status quo.

Residency requirements in this highly mobile society are counterproductive and have been ruled unconstitutional in many cases. Yet they persist in several States as requirements for some correctional positions.

A challenge to unfair testing procedures for employment was upheld in the Supreme Court on March 8, 1971, in the decision regarding *Griggs* v. *Duke Power Company* (401 U.S. 424, 1971). The court held that selection processes must be specifically job related, culture fair, and validated. Most selection processes used by personnel offices throughout the country, and specifically in corrections, do not meet these standards. To rectify these poor personnel practices, the National Civil Service League proposed the Model Public Personnel Administration Law of 1972, which concerns these and other issues.

A task analysis of each job should be required to produce a job-related test. For example, the task analysis approach was used by the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education for the job of parole agent. Each task was isolated, defined, and related to the total job function. The skills needed were identified, and the appropriate training for each skill proposed. The report on the task analysis outlined the following method:

> In order to observe a number of parole agents in the performance of their jobs in a relatively short period a fairly simple approach for the collection of job data is required. It can best be described as a three-step analysis:
>
> (1) Meet the parole agent and inquire about his background and his personal approach to job performance.
>
> (2) Observe activities of the agent for a period of time and literally walk or ride with him and even participate in the performance of his task when possible.
>
> (3) Record the type of task performed, how often he performs it, the duration of the task, and the degree of difficulty involved in performing it.

If such a task analysis were made of each major job in corrections, adequate predictive instruments could be developed to test applicants for job-related skills and knowledge.

Most written tests do little more than assess the applicant's vocabulary and grammar and test his comprehension with rudimentary exercises in logic. They rarely ask job-related questions, and almost none has been validated to determine whether the test actually does select persons whose adequate job performance was predicted by that test.

Careful task analysis in other human service agencies has shown that many tasks traditionally assigned to professional workers can be done, and done well, by persons with less than a college education. Corrections has done very little with reassignment of tasks and restructuring of jobs so that nonprofessional workers can take some of the load now carried by professionals and thus spread scarce professional services. Moreover, many persons with less than a college education can be of special use in corrections, since they understand the problems of offenders who are likewise without higher education.

Recruiting such personnel will help to reverse the racial and sexual discrimination that has occurred in staffing corrections. Recruitment efforts also should be directed toward hiring younger people who are finishing their education and interested in entering corrections as a career. This would reverse the current trend of hiring people who have entered corrections as career of second, third, or last choice.

Consideration should also be given to hiring staff on a part-time basis. Most correctional jobs today are full-time positions. If part-time employment were

available, qualified individuals, particularly women, could be recruited. Part-time employees, properly utilized, could render valuable service in corrections as they do in other social agencies. Part-time staff could be most easily recruited for community-based programs such as probation, where they could ease current workloads and make real contributions as members of the community into which offenders need to be reintegrated.

Recruitment of qualified personnel is restricted by lack of opportunity for lateral entry into the correctional system in many States. While no one would challenge the merits of promotion from within, it is also obvious that oftentimes it is desirable to hire a specially qualified person from another jurisdiction. If lateral entry is forbidden, such hiring is impossible. As the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training pointed out, prohibition of lateral entry is one of the factors that helps make corrections a closed system. Such a system contributes to "a stagnant, rather than a dynamic, work force."

References

1. *Criminal Justice Universe Conference: Proceedings.* Washington: Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, forthcoming.
2. *Griggs* v. *Duke Power Company,* 401 U.S. 424 (1971).
3. Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. *Corrections 1968: A Climate for Change.* Washington: JCCMT, 1968.
4. Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. *Perspectives on Correctional Manpower and Training.* Washington: JCCMT, 1969.
5. Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. *A Time to Act.* Washington: JCCMT, 1969.
6. National Civil Service League. *The Model Public Personnel Administration Law Proposal.* Washington: NCSL, 1970.
7. Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. *An Operational Analysis of the Parole Task.* Boulder, Colo.: WICHE, 1969.

Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementing Standard 14.1.

8.4 Juvenile Intake and Detention Personnel Planning.
9.6 Staffing Patterns.
10.4 Probation Manpower.
12.2 Parole Authority Personnel.
13.3 Employee-Management Relations.

Standard 14.8

Redistribution of Correctional Manpower Resources to Community-Based Programs

Correctional and other agencies, in implementing the recommendations of Chapters 7 and 11 for reducing the use of major institutions and increasing the use of community resources for correctional purposes, should undertake immediate cooperative studies to determine proper redistribution of manpower from institutional to community-based programs. This plan should include the following:

1. Development of a statewide correctional manpower profile including appropriate data on each worker.

2. Proposals for retraining staff relocated by institutional closures.

3. A process of updating information on program effectiveness and needed role changes for correctional staff working in community-based programs.

4. Methods for formal, official corrections to cooperate effectively with informal and private correctional efforts found increasingly in the community. Both should develop collaboratively rather than competitively.

Commentary

Most correctional resources—dollars, manpower, and attention—have been invested in traditional institutional services outside the mainstream of urban life. As indicated throughout this report, the trend now is away from isolating the offender in large, rural prisons and toward treatment near his home. There are major obstacles to full implementation of this change, however, not the least of which are the tremendous implications for correctional personnel.

As stated earlier, the majority of correctional personnel are now, and have been in the past, employed in institutions. Given the size, physical characteristics, and predominant institutional attitudes toward offenders, most of these staff have been trained and rewarded for a custody and control orientation. In addition, correctional staff have generally had a predominantly rural background and, in many cases, a lifestyle that has been heavily centered around institutional life. Thus, a dual problem is presented in switching to community-based corrections: a change in job function and a change in community of orientation.

Obviously, current staff cannot be dismissed and replaced by new staff. Nor can it be assumed that simply relocating and changing job descriptions will solve the problem. Correctional agencies that have made major shifts from institutional corrections to community corrections have learned this lesson the hard way. When insufficient attention has been given to staffing in effecting these major program changes, problems have resulted. In some cases institutional staff have been notified only days or weeks before

the institution in which they had been working was closed. Naturallly, the persons so affected have been angered, and some have become vigorous opponents of such moves. Such opposition may serve to slow or halt further implementation of community corrections. Thus lack of adequate anticipatory planning and retraining for staff may block program change.

Too often advocates of reform have concentrated solely on the political and social change strategies necessary to convince administrators and funders to change their priorities and emphasize community corrections programs. However, by the time agreement is reached on the desirability of moving toward such a change, in one sense it is already too late to begin thinking about the problems that will result from existing staff.

It is of critical importance for correctional administrators to acknowledge the changes in the wind and begin preparing for them immediately. The first step required is to gather an overall picture of current personnel, including data on education, training, and experience. Such a statewide correctional manpower profile can then be used in conjunction with other information as long-range planning is done. Such material can serve as a basis for developing comprehensive plans for retraining staff, both for those already relocated and in anticipation of future manpower requirements.

Much of this training will take the form of introducing correctional personnel to a new role—that of broker, resource manager, change agent, etc.—that will be required in community corrections. If training precedes actual relocation, consideration should be given to using rotating assignments as, for example, moving a group of institutional staff into the community with a cohort of parolees and later returning the staff to another institutional shift. Such a project is now being tried in California. Another possibility would involve utilizing institutional staff in expanded roles, such as carrying the functions of release planning and employment placement assistance from the institution into the community. Thus, personnel may adopt more fluid assignments so that "institutional staff" may have responsibilities that require working in the community on a part-time basis. Many variations are possible, but it is important that adequate provisions are made for giving those undergoing training an opportunity to utilize and expand their new skills.

Experimenting with new roles for correctional staff can also serve a valuable function in developing effective relationships with private correctional efforts in the community. Administrators should realize that beginning to work with community agencies and representatives should not wait until a complete transition to community corrections is achieved. In order to plan effectively for new manpower needs, it is necessary to work with community agencies to learn what services are presently available, what could be done by community groups, and what the critical roles to be filled by correctional personnel will be.

As new manpower programs and assignments are implemented, evaluation components should be included, at least on a sample basis, that will provide feedback on actual services performed, additional services needed, problems encountered, etc., as a basis for continuing planning and training.

References

1. Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations. *Correctional Reform.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971.
2. American Justice Institute. *Project STAR: A Report.* Sacramento: AJI, 1971.
3. California Criminal Justice Council. *California Criminal Justice Report.* Sacramento: CCJC, 1971.
4. Committee on Alternatives to Incarceration. *Alternatives to Incarceration for Adult Offenders.* Washington: CAI, 1971.
5. *Criminal Justice Universe Conference: Proceedings.* Washington: Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, forthcoming.
6. Fels, Marshall. *The Community—Site and Source of Correctional Rehabilitation.* Olympia: Washington State Department of Corrections, 1972.
7. Glaser, Daniel. "Changes in Corrections During the Next Twenty Years." Paper prepared for Project STAR. American Justice Institute, Sacramento, 1971.
8. Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. *Perspectives on Correctional Manpower and Training.* Washington: JCCMT, 1969.
9. Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. *A Time to Act.* Washington: JCCMT, 1969.
10. Norman, Sherwood. *The Youth Service Bureau: A Key to Delinquency Prevention.* New York: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1972.
11. *Struggle for Justice: A Report on Crime and Punishment in America.* Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. New York: Hill and Wang, 1971.
12. *We Hold These Truths,* Proceedings of the National Conference on Corrections. Richmond: Virginia Department of Justice and Crime Prevention, 1972.

Standard 15.3

Design Characteristics of a Correctional Information System

Each State, in the establishment of its information system under Standard 15.1, should design it to facilitate four distinct functions:

1. Offender accounting.

2. Administrative-management decisionmaking.

3. Ongoing departmental research.

4. Rapid response to ad hoc inquiries.

The design of the correctional information system should insure capability for provision of the following kinds of information and analysis:

1. Point-in-time net results—routine analysis of program status, such as:

a. Basic population characteristics.

b. Program definition and participants.

c. Organizational units, if any.

d. Personnel characteristics.

e. Fiscal data.

2. Period-in-time reports—a statement of flow and change over a specified period for the same items available in the point-in-time net results report. The following kinds of data should be stored:

a. Summary of offender events and results of events.

b. Personnel summaries.

c. Event summaries by population characteristics.

d. Event summaries by personnel characteristics.

e. Fiscal events summarized by programs.

3. Automatic notifications—the system should be designed to generate exception reports for immediate delivery. Four kinds of exception reports are basic:

a. Volume of assignments to programs or units varying from a standard capacity.

b. Movement of any type that varies from planned movement.

c. Noncompliance with established decision criteria.

d. Excessive time in process.

4. Statistical-analytical relationships—reports of correlations between certain variables and outcomes, analysis of statistical results for a particular program or group of offenders, etc.

Commentary

An information system for corrections requires accounting for an enormous number of individual decisions--decisions about the classification of offenders, housing, discipline, work assignments, and many minor decisions that require certain information for fairness and efficiency.

Correctional agencies typically make these decisions from a cumbersome, usually disorganized file.

The information in the file is so confused that it often must be supplanted by intuition. Clearly, if more knowledgeable decisions are to be made, more readily usable information must be provided.

An information system includes the concepts, personnel, and supporting technology for the collection, organization, and delivery of information for administrative use. An information system should be capable of collecting data for statistical use and providing itemized listings for administrative action. Although these capabilities are conceptually simple, there is much to be gained by organizing for computer operations.

Computerized informational and statistics systems for corrections should serve four distinct functions: offender accounting, administrative-management decisionmaking, ongoing departmental research, and rapid response to ad hoc inquiries.

The need for offender accounting is inherent in the notion of supervision. Because corrections is responsible for control of its population, it must have available the information that locates its population. Administrative decisions concerning institutions and the programs to be carried out within each are heavily dependent on recognizing the characteristics of the facilities' populations. For example, offender job placement would be greatly facilitated by an accounting system that characterized each offender.

The use of information to support administrative-management decisionmaking is discussed in the following description of the report capabilities an information system should have. All of these reports (point-in-time net results, period-in-time reports, automatic notifications, and statistical-analytical relationships) are designed to aid in the correctional decisionmaking process. In fact, the primary goal of an information-statistics system is to support administrative decisionmaking.

An information system should support agency research. Evaluation of program effectiveness depends on statistical analyses of the program's contents and outcomes. The system must allow collection of special study and sample data. Similarly, research can help explain the meaning of statistics and lead to refinements in the information and reporting system.

At any time, the information-statistical system should be able to deliver routine analyses of program status—point-in-time net results. The point-in-time report freezes the data at a specific time, the demand date. The period-in-time report apprises the administrator of flow and change over a specified period—the movement of a population, the amount and flow of expenditures, and occurrence rates of actions or events. The focus of both reports is on events—new admissions, transfers, parole hearings, parole releases—an acounting of a system's movement essential to rational planning and control.

A system with this capability also will be able to provide a wide variety of demand information. The system should also generate exception reports, initiated automatically by conditions that vary from standards established for the system.

The interrelationships of data are critical to the interpretive process. Regular reports should be programed, and responses to special queries should be readily retrievable.

References

1. Hill, Harland. *Correctionetics*. Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1972. Volume I.
2. South Carolina Department of Corrections. *Systems Study for a Correctional Information System, Phases I and II*. Columbia: 1972.

Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementing Standard 15.3.

6.1 Comprehensive Classification Systems.
10.2 Services to Probationers.
12.6 Community Services for Parolees.
13.2 Planning and Organization.
15.1 State Correctional Information Systems.

Standard 16.4

Unifying Correctional Programs

Each State should enact legislation by 1978 to unify all correctional facilities and programs. The board of parole may be administratively part of an overall statewide correctional services agency, but it should be autonomous in its decisionmaking authority and separate from field services. Programs for adult, juvenile, and youthful offenders that should be within the agency include:

1. Services for persons awaiting trial.

2. Probation supervision.

3. Institutional confinement.

4. Community-based programs, whether prior to or during institutional confinement.

5. Parole and other aftercare programs.

6. All programs for misdemeanants including probation, confinement, community-based programs, and parole.

The legislation also should authorize the correctional agency to perform the following functions:

1. Planning of diverse correctional facilities.

2. Development and implementation of training programs for correctional personnel.

3. Development and implementation of an information-gathering and research system.

4. Evaluation and assessment of the effectiveness of its functions.

5. Periodic reporting to governmental officials including the legislature and the executive branch.

6. Development and implementation of correctional programs including academic and vocational training and guidance, productive work, religious and recreational activity, counseling and psychotherapy services, organizational activity, and other such programs that will benefit offenders.

7. Contracts for the use of nondepartmental and private resources in correctional programming.

This standard should be regarded as a statement of principle applicable to most State jurisdictions. It is recognized that exceptions may exist, because of local conditions or history, where juvenile and adult corrections or pretrial and postconviction correctional services may operate effectively on a separated basis.

Commentary

Today, correctional programs are developed as separate entities. Institutions are administered apart from parole programs. Probation is attached to the courts and administered by them. In some States, each correctional institution is administered separately, with only some loose form of coordination at the top.

At present, in 23 States, adult and juvenile corrections are administered by separate agencies. In 15

States, parole supervision is administered under an agency other than the agency administering institutional programs.

The most consistent separation of correctional programs is that between misdemeanor and felony corrections. Most local jail facilities designated for confinement of misdemeanants are administered by local law enforcement agencies. In only five States are jails administered by a State agency.

Unification of all correctional programs will allow the coordination of essentially interdependent programs, more effective utilization of scarce human resources, and development of more effective, professionally operated programs across the spectrum of corrections. In a few States, where separate adult and juvenile programs are operating effectively in a coordinated manner, actual formal unification is less urgent but should be sought in the long run.

The board of parole presents the major problem in unification. As community-based programs expand, the board will cease to be the only agency with authority to dramatically decrease the level of confinement. It will increasingly act as a check upon institutional decisions that preclude individual offenders from community programs. In this review capacity, the board should retain its independence from institutional control and influences.

The correctional agency should be granted broad discretion and powers to develop, organize, and administer its programs. The kinds of powers considered in connection with this standard are those essential for the administration of the agency. Although the responsiveness of the agency and its adaptability to changing times will affect the individual offender, he has little direct connection with the organizational charts, personnel training programs, planning of facilities, and research and evaluation functions. The offender may provide useful insights into all of these activities, but his need for protection against arbitrary decisions involving organizational functions is slight. Thus broad discretion in these areas would seem appropriate.

In some States, and in some proposed model acts including the Model Penal Code, many organizational decisions are enacted into law. Article 401 of the Model Penal Code establishes various divisions within the department of corrections and outlines their functions. Since flexibility of administration is a useful tool and since no one system of organization is clearly most appropriate for a given correctional agency, it seems more advisable to grant the top management of the agency latitude to organize along the lines deemed most appropriate. More importantly, it would appear advisable to allow modifications of the internal organization as new techniques are developed. The rigidity of statutory enactment is counterproductive; the absence of it creates no real risk of abuse.

Every governmental agency has certain inherent authority to conduct activities essential to the function of the agency. However, some powers must be granted specifically, and the delineation of implied powers in legislation may act as an incentive to concentrate resources toward that function. Thus, although correctional agencies undoubtedly have authority to train their personnel, the specific statement of that power in statutes should serve to encourage the agency to perform that task.

The power to contract with private individuals and agencies for the utilization of resources in correctional programming may, in some States, require specific authorization. This is important authorization as private community-based resources become increasingly accessible.

References

1. American Correctional Association. *Manual of Correctional Standards*. 3d ed. Washington: ACA, 1966.
2. American Law Institute. *Model Penal Code: Proposed Official Draft*. Philadelphia: ALI, 1962.
3. Council on the Diagnosis and Evaluation of Criminal Defendants. *Illinois Unified Code of Corrections: Tentative Final Draft*. St. Paul: West, 1971.
4. *Legislative Guide for Drafting State-Local Programs on Juvenile Delinquency*. Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1972.
5. Morris, Norval. "Lessons from the Adult Correctional System of Sweden," *Federal Probation*, 30 (1966), 3.
6. Nebraska Treatment and Corrections Act, Neb. Rev. Stat. Sec. 83–107 et seq. (Reissue 1971).
7. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967.
8. Thomas, Mason P., Jr. "Five Issues Confronting Juvenile Corrections," *Juvenile Court Journal*, 22 (1971), 17.

Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementing Standard 16.4.

6.1 Comprehensive Classification Systems.

7.1 Development Plan for Community-Based Alternatives to Confinement.

Standard 16.6

Regional Cooperation

Each State that has not already done so should immediately adopt legislation specifically ratifying the following interstate agreements:

1. Interstate Compact for the Supervision of Parolees and Probationers.

2. Interstate Compact on Corrections.

3. Interstate Compact on Juveniles.

4. Agreement on Detainers.

5. Mentally Disordered Offender Compact.

In addition, statutory authority should be given to the chief executive officer of the correctional agency to enter into agreements with local jurisdictions, other States, and the Federal Government for cooperative correctional activities.

Commentary

Correctional systems developed primarily along State lines for varied historical, social, and legal reasons. This rigid basis of operation creates numerous problems that can be partially solved by legislation.

With the development of rapid and cheap transportation, an offender is likely to become involved simultaneously with the criminal justice systems of more than one State. This has a direct impact on the success of any correctional program in the following ways:

1. Where an offender serves consecutive sentences, first in one State and then in another, his correctional program, if uncoordinated and inconsistent, can have little hope of success.

2. One State may lodge a detainer against an offender serving time in another State. The effect of this detainer is to assure that, when the first State no longer wishes to exercise custody over the offender, he is turned over to the second State for trial or incarceration. Detainers adversely affect correctional programming in a number of ways. The detainer generally represents a desire of the other State to prosecute the offender for another crime when the offender is released by the first State. The offender always faces the possibility of further confinement upon release from his first sentence. In many cases, detainers are not prosecuted. In some cases, the offender may not be guilty of the crime on which the detainer is based. The need for having detainers adjudicated at the earliest opportunity is clear, but this requires cooperative procedures between States.

The detainer may keep the offender from participating in community-based programs. The theory of these programs is the gradual diminishment of control and the increase of freedom and responsibility. This is impossible when the offender faces renewed confinement by another State. Correctional authorities maintain closer custody over offenders against

whom detainers are lodged than they would in the absence of such detainers. The detainer acts as an artificial restraint to implementation of the policy that the least drastic measures, consistent with public safety, should be applied.

Two different States may become involved with one offender in other ways. An offender may be convicted and sentenced in a State other than his home State. This has a number of ramifications for correctional programming. The offender is likely to be a great distance from friends and family, which precludes the morale-boosting impact of visits and makes family ties more difficult to maintain. If the offender becomes eligible for community-based programs, he will be integrated into a community to which he is not likely to return upon final release. Skills training provided either on work release or within the institution may be directed toward the economy of the region where the crime was committed rather than the economy to which the offender is likely to return.

Parole and aftercare programs are less likely to succeed when the offender is not returned to his home community with the stabilizing influence family and friends can provide.

In areas with low population densities, regional programs may be the most economical and effective means of providing resources not available on an individual State basis. This is particularly true for certain groups of offenders, such as women, narcotic addicts, alcoholics, and mental defectives, whose small numbers or particular needs require special arrangements. Interstate cooperation may be essential if the resources needed are to be provided at all.

Solutions to these interstate problems have been provided and in many instances adopted by the States. In 1934, Congress enacted the Crime Control Consent Act which grants the consent of Congress to any agreement between two or more States for the prevention of crime. Since then, the Council of State Governments has developed numerous interstate compacts and agreements directed at the problems delineated above. These compacts and agreements, to become effective, must be specifically ratified by legislation.

The following compacts and agreements are available.

1. Interstate Compact for the Supervision of Parolees and Probationers. Since every eligible jurisdiction except the District of Columbia and Guam has ratified this interstate compact, almost all parolees and probationers are under supervision in their home State.

2. Interstate Compact on Corrections. This compact authorizes the cooperative use of programs and facilities by ratifying States and allows offenders to be transferred between jurisdictions. Four States have ratified this compact. Some regional compacts along the same lines, but applicable only to States in a particular region, are available.

3. Interstate Compact on Juveniles. This compact authorizes the interstate supervision of juvenile delinquents and the cooperative institutionalization of special types of delinquent juveniles such as psychotics and defective delinquents. Forty-nine of 54 eligible jurisdictions have ratified this compact.

4. Agreement on Detainers. The agreement allows an offender, on his own initiative, to test at an early date the substantiality of a detainer lodged against him by another jurisdiction. Twenty-nine of the 54 eligible jurisdictions have ratified the agreement on detainers.

5. Mentally Disordered Offender Compact. This compact authorizes cooperative use of facilities and programs for mentally disordered offenders and joint development of research and training of personnel. Eight jurisdictions have ratified this compact.

References

1. Council of State Governments. *Handbook on Interstate Crime Control.* Rev. ed. Chicago: CSG, 1966.
2. Council of State Governments. *The Law and Use of Interstate Compacts.* Chicago: CSG, 1961.
3. National Conference of Commissioners of Uniform State Laws. "Uniform Juvenile Court Act," in *Handbook.* Chicago: NCCUSL, 1968. Secs. 40–42.
4. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. *Task Force Report: Corrections.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967.
5. Wendell, Mitchell. "Multijurisdictional Aspects of Corrections." in H. Perlman and T. Allington, eds. *The Tasks of Penology.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969.

Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementing Standard 16.6.

5.6 Multiple Sentences.
6.1 Comprehensive Classification Systems.
9.2 Total System Planning.
10.2 Services to Probationers.
12.6 Community Services for Parolees.

MISSION STATEMENT OF THE MINNESOTA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

"Corrections," one part of the criminal justice system, refers to America's prisons, jails, detention centers, reformatories, training schools, and probation and parole machinery. In Minnesota, Corrections at the State level refers to eight institutions, over 1800 incarcerated adults and juveniles, and over 4500 persons on parole status. On any given day, Minnesota's State Department of Corrections is responsible for approximately 6,000 adult and juvenile offenders; it handles over 1,000 institutional admissions each year, receives at least 600 persons on parole, and spends nearly $40,000,000 in delivering service to these persons.

In order to explain the Department's role, what it believes its purpose to be, and how it intends to achieve that purpose, the following mission statement has been developed.

The mission of the Minnesota Department of Corrections is the community's protection; to accomplish this, the Department is committed to the development and provision of programs that will both control offender's inappropriate behavior and assist offenders in functioning as law abiding citizens.

In setting this as its mission, and in the development and provision of programs, the Department has operated within the framework of a series of beliefs. These include:

1) *Purposes of Corrections.* The Minnesota Department of Corrections believes that correctional sanctions imposed on convicted offenders serve a multiplicity of purposes which may vary with the type of offender. A convicted murderer may be sentenced for deterrence and retribution; the armed robber may be sentenced for incapacitation; the chronic petty forger may be sentenced not only for deterrence, but also for reintegration, to expose the offender to experiences and opportunities that can provide a means and stimulus for pursuing a lawful style of living in the community.

2) *Social Conditions.* The Minnesota Department of Corrections believes that crime and delinquency are symptoms of failure and disorganization, not only of the offender but also of society. All too frequently, the person convicted of a crime has had limited contact with the positive forces that develop law abiding conduct (i.e., good schools, gainful employment, adequate housing, and rewarding leisure time activities). The Department supports the expenditure of staff time and subsidy money for the advocacy of social change, whenever such change is designed to impact on those conditions which are conducive to the commission of crime.

3) *Rights of the Offender.* The Minnesota Department of Corrections accepts the premise that prisoners should retain all the rights of free citizens except those expressly or by necessary implication taken from them by law. The offender is entitled to basic human rights to the degree that this does not violate the rights of others.

PROGRAMS

It is upon these assumptions, then, that the Department develops its programs. These include both community programs and institutional programs; special consideration is given to the programs for juveniles.

Community Programs

The Department believes that offenders who are not threats to the public safety can and should be placed in programs in their own communities. By offering a variety of subsidies (most notably through the Community Corrections Act of 1973), the Department encourages local communities to develop and maintain their own correctional programs. Such subsidies both encourage the community to keep the "non-dangerous" offender close to his own community for programming/punishment and encourage the community to send the dangerous, violent offender away to State institutions. Likewise, such subsidies allow the community to make its own decisions about types of programs and services it will offer. Programs could include such things as adult and

juvenile diversion projects, probation, restitution programs, group homes or halfway houses, work release programs from the local jail, expanded jail services and programs, parole, etc., and could focus on community supervision, surveillance and/or treatment.

The Department assumes responsibility for assisting the local communities in development of community-based correctional programs, provides technical and financial assistance, and sets standards for program management and operation.

Use of Institutions

The Department, recognizing that there are offenders who must be removed from the community, believes that the following statements provide a basic framework around which the correctional process and programs of the institutions should be designed:

1) Progression of an offender through the system and his subsequent rehabilitation are negatively correlated. Therefore, institutional programs that minimize such progression but are consistent with public safety are desirable.

2) Offenders violate the law for a variety of personal and environmental reasons. As a result, they are better served by programs that are more consistent with their own life situations. The Department rejects the belief that offenders can be coerced into conforming, since significant behavior change is effective only if the individual desires to change. Corrections programming will be directed toward providing positive reinforcement for the person who voluntarily selects a program of self-improvement.

Correctional systems should facilitate the offender's access to services but should rarely impose them. The Department believes that correctional services should provide for the following:

- Remedial education for the educationally disadvantaged
- Vocational education for the unskilled
- Higher educational opportunities
- Treatment for the disturbed and anxious
- Medical care for the sick
- Reintegration services for the socially impaired
- Restraint for the dangerous
- Supportive community services

Special Consideration: Juvenile Programs

The Department recognizes a fundamentally different role regarding the treatment of juveniles. Acting "in loco parentis," it has a far greater responsibility towards rehabilition of the juvenile than of the adult. This must be reflected in the Department's overall planning and its provision of services for the juvenile.

There are two types of offenses for which a juvenile can be adjudicated delinquent:

a) *Status Offenses:* those actions which would not be classified as illegal if the actor were an adult (i.e., truancy, runaway, curfew violations, etc.).

b) *Non Status Offenses:* "adult crimes (i.e., burglary, larceny, rape, etc.).

It is important to distinguish between these types. The juvenile status offender is generally not a risk to the public safety of the community. The Department's position is that this type of offender should be handled in the community.

The State juvenile institutions, then, should be used for individuals who, by virtue of their offenses or the chronic pattern of continued offenses, must be removed from the community. The goals of these institutions shall be to assist the juvenile in development of necessary community living and reintegration skills; they should offer a broad range of services.

Juvenile security programs historically have intensified aggressive acting-out and have promoted a "tough guy" role identification. The Department, however, has recognized that there are juvenile offenders whose cases indicate that their needs and those of society are best met in high-security settings. In order to place the juvenile offender in a secure facility, a certification process must be used.

Recently a good deal of debate has been centered around this certification process and the need for secure juvenile facilities. The Deparmtent is committed to a thorough review of this situation as well as of other juvenile needs and programs and will be developing a separate juvenile mission statement within the next year.

ADMINISTRATION

While the Department is committed to the operation of more programs at the local level, it is equally committed to centralizing its management and administrative responsibilities. As it reduces its role in direct services, the role of support services, financial and technical assistance, development and enforcement of standards and management of central services (i.e., industries, medical services, personnel and training, etc.) increases.

The Department, recognizing the need for a management system that is sound and efficient, believes the following statements provide a basic framework around which it should be designed:

122

1) There should be clearly established and articulated organizational and divisional goals, with a built-in ongoing evaluation.

2) There shall be an organizational research capability for adequately identifying problems and needs of the agency and a sound planning capability for designing strategies to address these problems and needs. This planning function shall be integrally related to the budget development and control. Likewise, the evaluations conducted should address both programs and cost effectiveness.

3) There must be management and evaluation systems of staff effectiveness; programs for career development shall be developed to ensure that the importance of individual contributions will be recognized and rewarded by appropriate remuneration.

4) Training programs shall be developed and implemented to maximize the effectiveness of correctional staff.

5) Because correctional clients are of many races and creeds, it is critically important that staff are selected to be similarly represented. This requires strong affirmative action, steps taken towards recruitment, retention and promotion of minorities and women.

6) Additionally, the Department shall encourage the use of volunteers in all levels of correctional services. These volunteers shall receive training, and will be given specific responsibilities, and will be held accountable for achieving designated goals and objectives."

MEMORANDUM TO SOUTH CAROLINA COORDINATOR OF PAROLE AND AFTERCARE

MEMORANDUM

TO : Mr. Edwin D. Moore, State Coordinator of Parole and Aftercare

FROM : Area Parole Supervisors

SUBJECT: Services Provided for the Youthful Offender Parole Program

DATE : June 7, 1976

"The following resume offers a comprehensive overview of the services offered to Youthful Offenders from the time of commitment until release from parole.

"At the beginning of sentence Youthful Offender are sent to the Reception and Evaluation Center where they are tested and screened for appropriate institutional services. Personal information is forwarded to the Youthful Offender Division immediately after Youthful Offenders arrive at the Reception and Evaluation Center. This information is forwarded to the Youthful Offender Division Area Supervisory Officers and personal contact in made with families of the Youthful Offenders within a few weeks after their commitment. The Youthful Offender program is discussed with relatives and a brochure which fully explains the program is left with the family at the time the visit is made.

"The following points are specifically pointed out to all interested parties.

A. The Youthful Offender Division sentence is exapined to family.
B. The Reception and Evaluation Center program is discussed with them.
C. Procedure for assignment to different institutions is clarified.
D. Availability of institutional services are made known.
E. Youthful Offender Division policy concerning possible release date is revealed.
F. Families or friends are encouraged to support Youthful Offenders during period of sentence.
G. Contact is established with local families of friends and continued communication with the local supervisory offices is encouraged.

"Approximately sixty (60) days prior to release Youthful Offenders are interviewed to discuss tentative date of release and tentative post release plans.

"Within thirty (30) days of release date Youthful Offenders are assigned parole supervisors who interview them and explain parole terms to them. At the time of this interview personal information and any changes in tentative plans are secured.

"Shortly after the interview, visits are made to Youthful Offenders' homes or residences to confirm post release plans. In cases where Youthful Offenders do not have a home, community agencies are contacted for temporary placement. Youthful Offenders who live out of state are assisted in travel arrangements. Normally, rapport is established between the supervisors and Youthful Offenders prior to their release from prison.

"Volunteer workers are obtained for Youthful Offenders prior to their release from institutions. It has been the policy of the Youthful Offender Division to discuss this matter thoroughly with Youthful Offenders to see if they know someone they desire to be contacted to be volunteer worker for them.

"On the date of release contact is made with Youthful Offenders immediately after their arrival at their residences.

"The following services are rendered to Youthful Offenders:

A. Assist in job placement, provide transportation for job interviews when necessary.
B. Assistance in academic placement is made.
C. Referral for community services such as housing, social services, health services is given.
D. Counseling and guidance is offered on a twenty-four (24) hour basis seven days a week.
E. The Supervisor's home and office phones are furnished on release certificates to all Youthful Offenders.
F. Referrals are made when necessary to legal back up volunteer workers or legal agencies.
G. Assistance is given to Youthful Offenders in efforts to secure birth certificates, social security cards or driver's licenses or permits.
H. Progress and Adjustment reports are submitted to the central office of all contacts that are made in behalf of Youthful Offenders.
I. Upon completion of the conditional release period, a letter is mailed to each Youthful Offender with a questionnaire form (no name is to be given) to be completed by Youthful Offender for his evaluation of the parole supervisory program.

"Services to protect society are furnished in the following manner.

"If the Releasee's continuance under supervision becomes incompatible with the welfare of society, or if he fails to comply with any of the listed conditions, he may be returned on a warrant issued by a member of the Youthful Offender Division, Parole and Aftercare Section, and reincarcerated pending a hearing to determine if the conditional release should be revoked.

"When revocation becomes necessary, the following procedures are followed:

A. Contact is made with the State Coordinator and the individual file is reviewed who determines whether or not a warrant should be issued. In the event a warrant is authorized, the reasons for the warrant are given to the Youthful Offender in question at the time of arrest.

B. Any Youthful Offender parole violator is furnished a preliminary hearing in local community unless he waives his right to such a hearing.
C. He is notified of the date of the Revocation Hearing and his constitutional rights for the hearing are explained to him.
D. Charges against the Youthful Offender parole violator and a Progress and Adjustment report in his case are presented to the Revocation Board.

"It should be pointed out the counseling and guidance program does not end for Youthful Offenders at the time of completion of the parole expiration date. All Youthful Offenders are encouraged to contact Supervisors at any time in the future they think they need constructive assistance."

Area Parole Supervisors

SOUTH CAROLINA PAROLE EXPERIENCE QUESTIONNAIRE

south carolina
department of corrections

P.O. BOX 766/4444 BROAD RIVER ROAD/COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29202
TELEPHONE 758-6444
WILLIAM D. LEEKE, Commissioner

Dear

Enclosed is a questionnaire which we would like for you to fill out. This form is intended solely to help us evaluate the Youthful Offender Division parole program so that we might provide better services to other parolees.

Please answer the questions as honestly as you can and make any comment you wish about our supervisory program.

There is no place for your signature as you can see. We do not wish to know the identity of those completing these forms, only the content of the form itself. We want you to know that you do not have to worry about any action being taken against you for any answer you may make concerning our office. The content of the questionnaire is intended only, as we have stated before, to help us evaluate and improve our overall program.

The form should be mailed to Mr. Edwin D. Moore, State Coordinator of Parole and Aftercare at the State office in Columbia in the self-addressed, stamped envelope provided for your convenience. We are thanking you in advance for your help.

Sincerely,

Area Parole Supervisor

Youthful Offender Division

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER DIVISION

TERMINATION OF PAROLE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Did you feel that your parole officer treated you fairly?

2. Were you well informed as to your parole obligations and responsibilities?

3. Do you think your parole officer was prejudiced in any way toward you?

4. Do you feel that you were helped when you needed it? If not, explain why you feel as you do.

5. Do you believe that your special problems were given extra attention by your area parole supervisor? For what problems did you not receive help?

6. Do you think that your parole supervisor referred you to the proper agencies and then followed-up with these agencies to see that you were helped as much as possible?

7. Did you get the impression that there were too many or too few personal contacts made by your area parole supervisor?

8. Did you get the idea that your area parole supervisor was genuinely interested in your adjustment?

9. Do you feel that your area parole supervisor gave you proper guidance and counseling or did he immediately force his way on you or perhaps ignore you?

10. Do you feel that you were helped or hindered by the Youthful Offender Division parole program? Please make any suggestions for improvement of the Youthful Offender Division program that you wish to make at this time. (Please use other side if additional space is needed for comments.)

APPENDIX B

A SELECTED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

NOTE:

Some of the items in this annotated bibliography were supplied by Mr. Ernest Reimer and are a part of a report which he prepared for the California Department of Corrections, "Planning for California's Adult Parole System," July 2, 1975. Mr. Reimer prepared this report shortly after retiring as Director of the California Division of Adult Parole. The items taken from Mr. Reimer's report are indicated by an asterisk preceding the citation.

This brief and highly selective bibliography is intended as a supplement to the references contained in footnotes throughout the report, and in no way should be regarded as a comprehensive coverage of the diverse and voluminous literature in probation and parole.

*Adams, Stuart, *Evaluative Research in Corrections: A Practical Guide*, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, LEAA, March 1975.

This volume sets itself four tasks: Part One is concerned primarily with a review of the present state of evaluation in corrections and with identifying the kinds of research that have had an impact—i.e., have "made a difference." Part Two examines the responsibilities of the agency administrator for the direction, support and utilization of evaluative research. Part Three takes up the methods, strategies and models of the evaluator, with emphasis on the changing techniques and goals of research. Part Four explores some possibilities for "evaluating evaluation" and some proposals for making evaluation more productive in the future. Chapter 17 is an excellent summary of this text.

"Allen, Francis A., "Criminal Justice, Legal Values, and the Rehabilitation Ideal," *Justice, Punishment, Treatment*, 1973.

Discussed in this collection of articles is the debasement of the rehabilitative ideal and its relationship to the released offender. Focus is placed on the uses and effects of various treatment modes, interaction programs, intensive community treatment, reception center, parole, and short-term treatment programs.

*Bailey, W.C., "Correctional Outcome: An Evaluation of 100 Reports," In: Radzinowitz, L. and Wolfgang, M.E. (eds.), *Crime and Justice*, N.Y., Basic Books, 1971.

A sample of 100 correctional outcome reports was subjected to content analysis. Only one-fourth of the reports described experimental designs; over one-half described research designs of questionable rigor. Positive results were indicated in roughly one-half of the total sample. Bailey offers four possible explanations for the lack of demonstrated effectiveness of correctional treatment: 1) reformative treatment is ineffectual in its own right or due to the "crime and punishment" setting in which it takes place; 2) the various approaches may be neither "corrective" nor "treatment;" 3) we have not effectively sorted out what works for particular individuals; and 4) treatment was based on the "wrong" theories of delinquent and criminal behavior.

Bennett, Lawrence A., and Ziegler, Max, "Early Discharge: A Suggested Approach to Increased Efficiency in Parole," *Federal Probation*, September 1975.

Upon examination of national parole outcome statistics, this article suggests that those completing their first year on parole with minimal or no difficulty tend to have a 90 percent chance of satisfactorily completing the second and third years of parole obligation without serious difficulty. If a policy of discharge after one year of arrest-free parole were instituted, approximately $10.5 million could be reallocated to other areas in the criminal justice system.

*Brown, Barry S., and others, "Released Offenders' Perceptions of Community and Institution," *Corrective Psychiatry and Journal of Social Therapy*, Vol. 16, Nos. 1-4, 1970.

Through open-ended questionnaires, two groups of parolees (62 successes and 30 failures) were asked to identify factors in the institution and in the community that were helpful and harmful. Parolees' descriptions of events occurring both in the institution and in the community indicate the importance of attending to community resources. Parolees, successful or unsuccessful, cite their separation from the community as the single most harmful event occurring to them while in the institution. Parole successes differed significantly from parole failures in the degree of helpfulness they ascribed to persons in the community once released from the institution. This suggests a role for corrections in shoring up offenders' existing pro-social influences and, where necessary, developing new ones.

*California Department of Corrections, Division of Adult Parole, *Special Intensive Parole Unit, Phase II, Thirty Man Caseload Study*, December 1958.

Conclusions drawn from Phases I and II of SIPU are: 1) reduced caseload supervision during the initial months of parole does not result in significantly lower recidivism rates; 2) releasing men three months in advance of the regular parole date does not increase the violation rate; 3) contrary to past belief, releasing parolees on a selective basis without a previously arranged employment program does not increase recidivism; not enough is known about the factors influencing parolee behavior and how the parole agent can modify this.

*California Department of Corrections, Research Division, *Special Intensive Parole Unit, Phase III*, Research Report No. 3, March 1962.

This phase of SIPU involved the comparison of 35-man caseloads to 72-man caseloads, with parole behavior observed at 12 and 24 months following release. The SIPU cases remained under small caseload supervision the duration of the project. Findings are summarized: 1) Parolees released to reduced caseloads performed significantly better than those released to regular caseloads at both 12 and 24 months after release. 2) Applying a preliminary base expectancy scale, the difference between SIPU and control was larger for medium-risk parolees than for best or poorest risks. 3) Difference was larger for parolees released to the northern California regions than for the southern regions. 4) Difference was larger for parolees released in the middle of the time period than for those released early or late in the time period.

*California Department of Corrections, Research Division, *Special Intensive Parole Study: Phase IV, The Record of Interview Study*, May 1964.

This study looks at differences in parole supervision practices among three sizes of caseloads (70-man, 30-man, and 15-man) and among two classifications of parole agents, the external and internal. The major finding is that output of agent time per case increases as the size of the agent's caseload is reduced. The difference in output between small and medium caseload is greater than that between medium and large.

*California Department of Corrections, Research Division, *Special Intensive Parole Unit, Phase IV, The High Base Expectancy Study*, Research Report No. 10, 1963.

Ninety-three male parolees, classified as good parole prospects by Base Expectancy score, were assigned to minimal parole supervision. Minimal supervision was defined as one face-to-face contact every three months, unless the parolee specifically requested help or unless he showed indications of delinquent behavior on his parole.

It was predicted that these subjects would do as well under minimal supervision as they would under regular supervision. A comparison of the behavior of the research subjects during the first year of parole with that of a group of good risk parolees released to regular parole in 1956 confirmed this prediction.

*California Department of Corrections, Research Division, *Special Intensive Parole Unit, Phase IV, Synopsis of Parole Outcome Study*, Administrative Abstract No. 13, 1965.

This phase used a three-dimensional research design. Over three different caseload sizes: small (15-man), medium (30-man), and large (70-man or more); parolees were differentiated as high maturity or low maturity and, in turn, were supervised by parole agents differentiated into external and internal orientation. External refers to factors external to the parolee and internal focuses more on what is happening inside the parolee. The hypothesis was that external parole agents would do better with low maturity parolees and internal parole agents would do better with high maturity parolees. Difficulties in maintaining the research design

severely qualifies whatever results materialized. Neither high nor low maturity parolees performed differently when supervised by external as compared to internal agents. Subjects in the small and medium caseloads performed significantly better than large caseload subjects in terms of no arrests and minor arrests.

*California Parole and Community Services Division, *Parolee Employment Survey*, January 1975, Staff Services.

To evaluate the employment status of newly released parolees, all male felons released to parole in California from January 1 to January 15, 1975 were surveyed. A response of 95 percent was obtained. One month after release 65 percent were employed or in school. Work furlough graduates reached 95 percent employment, while those released directly from prison had an employment rate of 57 percent. Work furloughees averaged 24 dollars per week more than did regular parolees.

*Citizens Inquiry on Parole and Criminal Justice, *Summary Report on New York Parole*, N.Y., March 1974.

This inquiry into the parole process in New York State concluded that: 1) community supervision should not exceed one year; 2) parole rules be reduced and simplified; 3) all law enforcement functions of parole officers should be eliminated; 4) parole should be revoked only if new crime warrants prison commitment; 5) parolees be provided with financial assistance and a full range of social services; and 6) if revoked, parolees should get full credit for time in the community.

Colter, Norman C., "Subsidizing the Released Inmate," *Crime and Delinquency*, July 1975.

The author suggests that approximately $200 be issued to a released inmate for the initial months after his release, enabling him to support himself through these critical months and showing him that society cares enough to assist him. There is a definite need for financial assistance to inmates during the first months after release from prison and this type of program can have a greater impact on reducing the rate of recidivism than current rehabilitative pratcices.

*Cunningham, Gloria, "Supervision of the Female Offender," *Federal Probation*, December 1963.

This article is aimed at helping the male officer supervise female offenders. The author deals with the issues of dependency, seductiveness, and self-respect.

*DeVault, Barbara M., "Women Parolees," *Crime and Delinquency*, 11(3), 1965.

This follow-up study concerns 65 parolees who were among the first 76 inmates at Framingham Reformatory for Women seen by the Division of Legal Medicines' mental health clinic for intake and diagnosis or individual or group therapy. The diagnostic emphasis was on the women's adjustment to the restrictions of parole and to the community. The data include family and environment information, conduct on parole, employment history, and marital relationships. Few significant differences appeared between the successful and unsuccessful groups; the value of treatment was difficult to assess.

*Dickover, B. and Painter, J., *Factors Influencing Parole Success*, California Department of Corrections, Research Division, June 1969.

Three samples of 100 cases each drawn from those discharged after two years on parole, those continued on parole after 2943 P.C. review, and those returned to prison as parole violators. Absence of excessive drinking, presence of a spouse, convictions of crime against a person, were associated with success on parole. Other factors examined included age, race, institutional training, pre-institutional work skills, termer status, initial jobs, adequate first placement, etc.

Durham, Earl L., "St. Leonard's House—A Model in the Use of Ex-offenders in the Administration of Correction," *Crime and Delinquency*, July 1975.

This article deals with the new careers movement and the use of ex-offenders in the administration of the correctional process and the way these concepts are applied at St. Leonard's House in Chicago. The professionally staffed program is designed "to alleviate problems experienced by persons having difficulty with the law and to enhance their social function, especially through mobilizing their own efforts for improvement." The article states criminals or ex-criminals serving as correctional workers must be given the management responsibilities assigned to all correctional workers. The method of treatment at St. Leonard's House involves direct assistance and counseling of clients coming directly from penal institutions in order to open opportunities that would otherwise be closed. The article reflects on the New Careers concept and discusses the issues involved in the selection, training, and evaluation of offenders as administrators and providers of service.

*Erickson, Rosemary J., and others, *The Offender Looks at His Own Needs*, Western Behavioral Sciences Institute, La Jolla, California, March 1971.

Sixty San Diego parolees—half newly released and half who had been on parole about two years—were interviewed at length by trained ex-convict interviewers. Various paper-pencil tests were given to tap the parolees' self-concepts, philosophies, and concerns.

It is concluded that parolees have acute physical and material needs. They lack financial support upon release and are disadvantaged in the job market because of limited education and skills and the stigma of being an ex-con. Parolees have neither the personal support that typically comes from relationships with others in marriage, as members of work groups, and from relatives, nor are they closely connected with the community through membership in social groups or organizations. Parolees are "middle-class" oriented and are searching within themselves and in their social world for ways to become connected with the larger community.

Fitzgerald, Thomas J., "Contingency Contractng with Juvenile Offenders," *Criminology*, 1974.

This study was implemented to determine whether male juvenile subjects, selected randomly from a pool of 86 boys with an average age of 15.3 years, who were placed on probation and were under court order to pay fines, would show an increased rate of work when positive contingencies of reinforcement were used in the form of contingency contracts. The results of this study indicate that the activity contingency was more reinforcing than time off probation.

Galaway, B. and Hudson, J., "Issues in the Correctional Implementation of Restitution to Victims of Crime," Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology, New York, November 1975.

This paper describes a program wherein property offenders were diverted from prison sentences four months after admission to a halfway house where their program included restriction to the victim of their crime. First year's operation revealed several operational (mostly halfway house's) problems plus a 30 percent failure rate out of the first 28 men in the program.

*Glaser, Daniel, "Correction of Adult Offenders in the Community," *Prisoners in America*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1973.

A description of the factors, controversies, and programs that are involved in what is commonly referred to as "community-based corrections." The last paragraph states: "In summary, from the standpoints of assessment, control, and assistance, but primarily through more timely and relevant assistance, community correction for adults provides vast advances from traditional jailing or imprisonment . . ."

Gottfredson, D., and others, "Making Paroling Policy Explicit," *Crime and Delinquency*, January 1975.

The authors of this article support the claim that a more explicit definition of the elements governing parole selection and a resolution of the problem of determining the weight applied to each is necessary to making paroling policy more explicit. The study dramatically demonstrates a method of analysis of the present parole board decisions developing guidelines which promote fair and rational decision-making without abolition of a structured discretionary authority.

Holt, Norman, "Rational Risk Taking: Some Alternatives to Traditional Correctional Programs," Paper presented at the Second National Workshop on Corrections and Parole Administration, San Antonio, Texas, March 1974.

The author points out that "system change" may have greater payoff than programs aimed at offender change. He supports his claim by citing three California system change types of projects: Parole Work Unit emphasis on keeping parolees in the community; the 60-day parole advance release program; and the one year discharge program. All three programs demonstrated substantial savings in cost.

Lamb, H. and Goertzel, V., "Community Alternatives to County Jail: The Hopes and the Realities," *Federal Probation*, 1975.

In an attempt to examine the limited replacement of jails by community rehabilitation programs, a three-year controlled study was undertaken in 1974. Ellsworth House, located in a San Francisco suburb, was created as the test site, housing 72 percent felony and 23 percent misdemeanor male offenders. This article explains the program methodology and concludes that "it is feasible to have an unlocked rehabilitation program in the community with active therapeutic programs for serious offenders."

Leiburg, Leon and Parker, William, "Mutual Agreement Program with Vouchers: An Alternative for Institutionalized Female Offenders," *American Journal of Corrections*, January-February 1975.

In light of a recent California study of female offenders performed by the American Correctional Association, an examination is made of the use of the MAP (Mutual Agreement Program) as an alternative to the institutionalized female offender. The authors examine the present use of the MAP program in its application to the female offender and the employment of the "Voucher System," giving an inmate a "drawing right" to the purchase of training and education of their choosing within the community.

Menolascino, Frank J., "A System of Services for the Mentally Retarded Offender," *Crime and Delinquency*, January 1975.

This article discusses a system of services to meet the individual needs of the retarded offender. The system uses correctional methods in a community-based service for the retarded.

*Pownall, George A., *Employment Problems of Released Prisoners*, Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1969.

This study of 945 prison releasees developed some 22 findings. Those of special interest included:

Released prisoners had higher rates of part-time employment (20 percent to 90 percent) and unemployment (17 percent to 5 percent) than did the national civil labor force. Unemployment rates increased with the degree of prior criminal involvement. Unemployment decreased as length of time on last and longest job prior to commitment increased. Institution training and work experience had limited impact upon post-release employment. Instability of employment demonstrated by median of four months on first job, median of eight months on longest job. Over half the subjects in the post-release survey had one or more periods of unemployment. Hindering employment were specialized problems such as union discrimination, inability to be

bonded, and faulty communication between the releasees, the supervision officer, and the employer. There was some evidence to support the theory that the reason some releasees do not work, even when they have a skill and have received placement assistance, is the fact that they reside in subcultures which do not emphasize upward mobility, achievement, or steady employment.

*Reinarman, Craig and Miller, Donald, "Direct Financial Assistance: A Promising Alternative in Correctional Programming," California Department of Corrections, Research Unit, Sacramento, California, April 1975.

The project developed two randomly drawn samples of about 120 parolees each. One sample could, if needed, draw a weekly financial grant of $80 for as much as 12 weeks. At six months, those being subsidized had an 80 percent success rate vs. 71 percent for the control group. Comparable rates at 12 months were 47 percent for the experimentals and 40 percent for the controls. At the end of 12 months the factors that benefitted the most from the financial assistance included age group 31 or older, property criminal, narcotic offender, low base expectancy score, less than $50 in inmate account, some job offer, and steady work history.

*Robison, James and Smith, Gerald, "The Effectiveness of Correctional Programs," *Crime and Delinquency*, Vol. 17, No. 1, January 1971.

This article was based on a report submitted to a California Legislative Committee in 1969. Reviews finding from studies in California for five critical choices in offender processing: 1) imprisonment or probation, 2) length of stay in prison, 3) treatment program in prison, 4) intensity of parole or probation supervision, and 5) outright discharge from prison or release on parole. The authors conclude that variations in recidivism rates among these alternatives are, for the most part, attributable to initial differences among the types of offenders processed and that the remaining differences in violation rate between programs may be accounted for by differences in interpreting an event as a violation or in officially designating it as such. No evidence was found to support claims of superior rehabilitative efficacy of one correctional alternative over another.

*Seiter, R.P., Petersilia, J.R., and Allen, H.E., *Evaluation of Adult Halfway Houses in Ohio*, Vol. II, Program for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, Ohio State University, March 1975.

This book does an excellent job of sorting out many of the issues involved in evaluating a complex process. It points out that factors such as drug and alcohol use, many prior offenses, and long prison sentences may mitigate against placement in a halfway house. The book also develops new criteria to judge the effectiveness of halfway houses. This criteria involves a scale of behavior for new offenses committed and bonus points for adjustment improvement aspects. Last, the authors present a simulation model that yields ten year cost estimates for whatever variation of program is contemplated. This simulation process has excellent potential for future correctional planning.

*Warren, Marguerite Q., *Correctional Treatment in Community Settings, A Report of Current Research*, National Institute of Mental Health, Rockville, Maryland, September 1970.

The material for this paper was contributed by approximately 125 individuals from 25 countries. The report focuses primarily on current studies of various treatment elements utilized in probation and parole settings. The treatment elements reported include: 1) treatment-relevant classification of offenders, 2) treatment settings and their characteristics, 3) characteristics of workers or treaters, 4) caseload size, and 5) therapeutic methods. Follow-up findings of the various programs are incomplete. For many, there is no such information; for some, positive findings are reported short of recidivism, and for others, follow-up on recidivism showed little or no difference.

*Washington Social and Health Services Department, Office of Research, *Adult Corrections Release Stipend Program*, Evaluation Report No. 4, April 11, 1974.

Effective 4/1/72, Washington State parolees without a release job and in need of help could be granted a weekly stipend of $55. Subject to renewal at the 6th and 16th weeks, this stipend could extend for 26 weeks. A stipend and non-stipend group were followed for up to 20 months in the community. Report indicates that the stipend group was a higher risk group. Return rate after 20 months was 12.9 percent for the stipend group, 8.1 percent for the non-stipend group. During the early part of parole, the stipend group out-performed the non-stipend group; at the end of 100 days on parole, 10.8 percent of the stipend group failed vs. 26.8 percent of the non-stipend group. More of the stipend group underwent arrests. For a number of reasons, including the lack of sound evaluation design, the writers caution about drawing premature conclusions regarding the merits of the Washington Stipend Program.

*Weller, Charles E. and Flood, John L., *An Operational Analysis of the Parole Task*, Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, Boulder, Colorado, September 1969.

A short but excellent booklet on how to analyze a parole agent's job into tasks, subtasks, and elements, and how this analysis can then be translated into specific training components. Authors used the Colorado adult parole for their example, and there are many similarities with California's program.

Wilks, Judith A., and Martinson, Robert, "A Static-Descriptive Model of Field Supervision," *Criminology*, Vol. 13, No. 1, May 1975.

This article presents a static, descriptive model for comparing the operations of different agencies or for identifying changes over time in agencies. Seven decision outcomes made by field supervision agencies are identified. Use of the model is illustrated in comparing the decision outcomes experiences by the experimental and control groups of the California Community Treatment Project.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402
Stock Number 027-000-00706-6

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1978 O—272-120

(CUT ALONG THIS LINE)

PROGRAM MODELS: "Promising Strategies in Probation and Parole"

To help LEAA better evaluate the usefulness of Program Models documents, the reader is requested to answer and return the following questions.

1. What is your general reaction to this Program Models report?
   [ ] Excellent [ ] Above Average [ ] Average [ ] Useless [ ] Poor

2. Does this document represent best available knowledge and experience?
   [ ] No better single document available
   [ ] Excellent, but some changes required (please comment)
   [ ] Satisfactory, but changes required (please comment)
   [ ] Does not represent best knowledge or experience (please comment)

3. To what extent do you see the document as being useful in terms of: (check one box on each line)

	Highly Useful	Of Some Use	Not Useful
Modifying existing projects	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Training personnel	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Adminstering on-going projects	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Providing new or important information	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Developing or implementing new projects	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

4. To what specific use, if any, have you put or do you plan to put this particular document?
   [ ] Modifying existing projects
   [ ] Administering on-going projects
   [ ] Others:
   [ ] Training personnel
   [ ] Developing or implementing new projects

5. In what ways, if any, could the document be improved: (please specify), e.g. structure/organization; content/coverage; objectivity; writing style; other)

6. Do you feel that further training or technical assistance is needed and desired on this topic? If so, please specify needs.

7. In what other specific areas of the criminal justice system do you think a Program Models report is most needed?

8. How did this document come to your attention? (check one or more)
   [ ] LEAA mailing of document
   [ ] Contact with LEAA staff
   [ ] LEAA Newsletter
   [ ] Other (please specify
   [ ] Your organization's library
   [ ] National Criminal Justice Reference Service

9. Check ONE item below which best describes your affiliation with law enforcement or criminal justice. If the item checked has an asterisk (*), please also check the related level, i.e.

[ ] Federal	[ ] State	[ ] County	[ ] Local
		[ ] Police *	
[ ] LEAA		[ ] Court *	
[ ] State Planning Agency		[ ] Correctional Agency*	
[ ] Regional SPA Office		[ ] Legislative Body *	
[ ] College/University		[ ] Other Government Agency *	
[ ] Commercial/Industrial Firm		[ ] Professional Association *	
[ ] Citizen Group		[ ] Crime Prevention Group *	

10. Your Name _____
Your Position _____
Organization or Agency _____
Address _____
_____
Telephone Number Area Code: _____ Number: _____

(Fold here first)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20531

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE, $300

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JUS-436

THIRD CLASS

Director
Office of Development, Testing
and Dissemination
National Institute of Law Enforcement
and Criminal Justice
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20531

(Fold)

11. If you are not currently registered with NCJRS and would like to be placed on their mailing list, check here. [ ]

(CUT ALONG THIS LINE)